

UTAH'S RIGHT TURN: REPUBLICAN ASCENDANCY
AND THE 1976 U.S. SENATE RACE

by
Jay Logan Rogers

A thesis submitted to the faculty of
The University of Utah
in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of History
The University of Utah

May 2008

Copyright © Jay Logan Rogers 2008

All Rights Reserved

THE UNIVERSITY OF UTAH GRADUATE SCHOOL

SUPERVISORY COMMITTEE APPROVAL

of a thesis submitted by

Jay Rogers

This thesis has been read by each member of the following supervisory committee and by majority vote has been found to be satisfactory.

3-11-08

W. Paul Reeve
Chair: W. Paul Reeve

3-11-08

[Signature]

3-11-08

[Signature]

THE UNIVERSITY OF UTAH GRADUATE SCHOOL


FINAL READING APPROVAL

To the Graduate Council of the University of Utah:

I have read the thesis of Jay Rogers in its final form and have found that (1) its format, citations, and bibliographic style are consistent and acceptable; (2) its illustrative materials including figures, tables, and charts are in place; and (3) the final manuscript is satisfactory to the supervisory committee and is ready for submission to The Graduate School.



Date




W. Paul Reeve
Chair: Supervisory Committee

Approved for the Major Department



Eric Hinderaker
Chair/Dean

Approved for the Graduate Council



David S. Chapman
Dean of The Graduate School

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the 1976 United States Senate race in Utah, in which Republican Orrin Hatch, a political novice, defeated three-term incumbent Democratic Senator Frank Moss. It explores Hatch's victory as part of a statewide political shift in favor of conservative Republicans and positions Utah as a bellwether state at the front of a broader regional and national shift to the right. During the 1970s, leaders of the majority religion in Utah, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, became increasingly outspoken in favor of conservative positions on social issues such as abortion and the Equal Rights Amendment. They expressed alarm over the cultural changes associated with the liberalism that emerged out of the 1960s. These concerns combined with a longstanding distrust of federal power among Utah's population, moving the state's Latter-day Saint (LDS) voters into the Republican Party coalition.

Hatch benefited from the LDS people's skepticism toward relatively liberal Democrats such as Senator Moss. The Republican challenger portrayed himself as a devout member of the church and the candidate most representative of "Mormon values." He also took advantage of the disillusionment with government that developed throughout the nation in the aftermath of Vietnam and Watergate. He campaigned to reduce federal spending at a time when many voters struggled with an economic recession and resented that tax dollars were being used to support redistributionary federal policies benefiting minorities and the underclass. Hatch's win was part of a

partisan realignment toward Republicans throughout the Mountain West region in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The Republican Party dominance that emerged in Utah was unusually strong because Democrats lost credibility with LDS voters and ceased to be viable political contenders in the state.

For my parents, who taught
me to cherish education

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	viii
INTRODUCTION	1
UTAH POLITICS IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT	3
THE CANDIDATES OF 1976	9
THE REPUBLICAN PRIMARY	22
THE GENERAL ELECTION	27
REGIONAL PARTISAN REALIGNMENT	46
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	54

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis would not have been possible without the assistance and support of many people. First, I would like to thank the members of my master's committee, W. Paul Reeve, Robert A. Goldberg, and L. Ray Gunn, for their guidance. I also appreciate the numerous individuals who consented to be interviewed for this paper. They provided an insider perspective that helped me to understand Utah politics in the 1970s. The Charles Redd Center for Western Studies at Brigham Young University provided me with a travel grant that helped me complete research about regional political developments in 1976. Archival materials from the Special Collections Department at the University of Utah's J. Willard Marriott Library were essential to the completion of this project. I also benefited from the holdings of the University of New Mexico Political Archive, the American Heritage Center at the University of Wyoming, and the New Mexico State Records Center and Archives. Additional thanks go to Matthew Basso, Walter Jones, Rose Diaz, Matthew Burbank, Nadja Durbach, W. Lindsay Adams, Jenny Brundin, Marcia Rogers, and Will Smiley.

INTRODUCTION

In 1976, a previously unknown attorney named Orrin Hatch ran for the United States Senate in Utah. Despite having no political experience, Hatch won the state's Republican primary and went on to defeat incumbent senator Frank Moss in the general election. Moss had eighteen years of senatorial seniority and held a powerful leadership position within the Democratic caucus, yet Utah voters abandoned him for Hatch, who had only resided in the state for seven years prior to the election.

Hatch's defeat of Moss signaled a significant shift in Utah's political balance of power during the late 1970s. The Republican Party became dominant in state politics, while the Democratic Party declined to minority status. This statewide political realignment occurred when conservatism was on the rise in the United States, especially in the Mountain West region. However, the intensity and permanence of the partisan shift in Utah derived from a change in the loyalties of members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, who comprised approximately 70 percent of the state's population.¹ Mormons began to favor Republicans strongly during this period, which transformed Utah's political balance-of-power. During the 1970s, the LDS church became increasingly outspoken on social issues that had political implications. The conservative positions espoused by church leadership contributed to a growing perception that the Democratic Party was out of step with Mormon values. These forces came to

¹ Michael B. Toney, Carol McKewen Stinner, and Stephan Kan, "Mormon and Nonmormon Migration in and out of Utah," *Review of Religious Research* 25 (December 1983): 114.

bear upon the 1976 Senate race in Utah in a curious mix of concern over “moral issues,” an untimely sex scandal, regional mistrust of federal power, and resentment of “big government.”

In 1976, Latter-day Saint (LDS) voters were ripe for political change and a majority of them began to move into a Republican coalition that would eventually elect Ronald Reagan to the White House in 1980. In this regard, the 1976 Senate contest between Moss and Hatch can best be viewed as a leading indicator of future trends in the region and the nation, with Utah voters at the forefront of a broader shift to the right.

UTAH POLITICS IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

History and culture are critical elements in understanding the politics of Utah. They have both local and national dimensions. The relationship between the LDS Church and state government has been particularly influential upon local politics throughout Utah history.

The first permanent white settlers of Utah were Mormons fleeing the persecution they had encountered in the Midwest. Many Americans came to fear and mistrust them because of their polygamist marital practices and theocratic political structures. During the nineteenth century, President James Buchanan sent an army to Salt Lake City to assert federal control, alleging that the Latter-day Saints were in rebellion against the United States government.¹ This incident left a legacy of suspicion of the federal government among Utah's LDS population. It lay dormant during periods when the Mormons felt confident that their religious culture was secure and protected by the American nation-state, but it had the potential to resurface if they felt that their way of life was threatened by outside forces. In 1976, they again perceived an external threat, this time one of moral decay rather than physical destruction, but the potential peril to Mormon cultural values seemed real to many Latter-day Saints.

¹ For more information about the "Utah War," see Norman F. Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict: 1850-1859* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1960); Richard D. Poll and William P. MacKinnon, "Causes of the Utah War Reconsidered," *Journal of Mormon History* 20 (Fall 1994): 30-34; Todd M. Kerstetter, *God's Country, Uncle Sam's Land: Faith and Conflict in the American West* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 48-55.

In the late nineteenth century, conflict emerged between Mormons and non-LDS people in Utah. As a result, territorial politics developed along religious lines. In 1870, non-Mormons founded the Liberal Party to promote their interests and Mormons organized the People's Party in response. The sectarian division in Utah party politics declined in the 1890s, when LDS Church leaders sought compromise with mainstream American culture in order to achieve statehood. They disbanded the People's Party and encouraged Mormons to join the two major American political parties in approximately equal numbers.²

Control of state politics alternated between the parties during the early twentieth century. Republicans dominated Utah politics during the century's first decade. Democrats surged into power in the mid-1910s, but the Grand Old Party (GOP) regained its majority status in state politics during the 1920s. Sociologist Armand L. Mauss noted that throughout this period, Latter-day Saint leaders "led the church deliberately toward increasing assimilation and Americanization." For this reason, the LDS Church took a "political posture...generally in harmony with dominant national trends."³

Prominent church leaders broke with this pattern during the 1930s, when some publicly expressed disapproval of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal initiatives. Despite their stance, Utah's predominantly Mormon population gave strong support to New Deal Democrats during the decade and Roosevelt won Utah with comfortable margins four times. Economic concerns outweighed strict adherence to the preferences

² Gustive O. Larson, *The "Americanization" of Utah for Statehood* (San Marino, CA: The Huntington Library, 1971), 32-36; Edward Leo Lyman, *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 150-181.

³ Thomas G. Alexander, *Utah: The Right Place* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, 2003), 259-263, 296-299; Armand L. Mauss, *The Angel and the Beehive: The Mormon Struggle with Assimilation* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 112.

of religious authorities, largely because the Great Depression hit Utah particularly hard and the state benefited from a disproportionately large amount of federal aid.⁴

From the end of World War II until 1976, both parties were competitive in state politics. Control of Utah's federal and state offices shifted regularly between Republicans and Democrats. Popular political figures during this period included Republican Senator Wallace Bennett, who served four terms in Washington from 1950 to 1974, and Democratic Governor Calvin Rampton, who was first elected in 1964 and completed three terms as Utah's chief executive before retiring from the office in 1976.⁵

During the 1950s and the early 1960s, the LDS Church avoided taking official positions on controversial political issues. However, in this period some of the highest-ranking LDS leaders (termed "apostles") issued conflicting political statements. The apostle Ezra Taft Benson had served as President Dwight D. Eisenhower's Secretary of Agriculture. He expressed strong right-wing views upon returning to full-time church service during the early 1960s.⁶

Benson announced that "No true Latter-day Saint and no true American can be a socialist."⁷ He endorsed the far-right-wing John Birch Society and warned Mormons that Communist conspirators had infiltrated the United States government.⁸ Benson's fellow

⁴ Richard N. Ostling and Joan K. Ostling, *Mormon America: The Power and the Promise* (San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 1999), 108-109; Mauss, 114; Thomas G. Alexander and James B. Allen, *Mormons & Gentiles: A History of Salt Lake City* (Boulder, CO: Pruett Publishing Company, 1984), 199-201.

⁵ Thomas G. Alexander, "The Emergence of a Republican Majority in Utah, 1970-1992," in *Politics in the Postwar American West*, ed. Richard Lowitt (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 262; Alexander, *Utah: The Right Place*, 373-381; F. Ross Peterson, "Utah Politics Since 1945," in *Utah's History*, ed. Richard D. Poll (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), 515-522.

⁶ On the LDS Church's reluctance to intervene in politics during the middle of the twentieth century, see Mauss, 114-115. The most extensive discussion of Benson's controversial political activism is found in Gregory A. Prince and Wm. Robert Wright, *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2005), 285-321. See also Peterson, 516-519; and Ostling and Ostling, 109-111.

⁷ Prince and Wright, 287.

⁸ Prince and Wright, 299.

church leaders allowed him to espouse his views, but they did not collectively endorse these opinions. Furthermore, the relatively liberal apostle Hugh B. Brown made public political statements that contradicted Benson's perspective, demonstrating that there was an ideological "counterbalance to Benson within the hierarchy."⁹

In spite of some LDS leaders' efforts to disassociate themselves from Benson's opinions, the outspoken apostle's rhetoric contributed to the radicalization of some church members. An ultra-conservative political subculture developed among a minority of Mormons. Ernest Wilkinson and W. Cleon Skousen were two of its most important leaders. Wilkinson, an admirer of the John Birch Society, served as president of LDS church-owned Brigham Young University (BYU). He ran for the United States Senate against Frank Moss in 1964, but lost by a wide margin. In the late 1960s, he recruited BYU students to spy on professors to keep politically "subversive" ideas from being taught on campus. Wilkinson became the target of considerable public criticism when these student espionage activities were exposed.¹⁰

Skousen, a former Salt Lake City police chief, wrote a polemical book called *The Naked Communist* that warned against compromise with Communist nations.¹¹ He suggested that Americans must eliminate the welfare state to "restore the Constitution."¹² He founded an organization called the Freemen Institute in 1971 dedicated to the

⁹ Robert Gottlieb and Peter Wiley, *America's Saints: The Rise of Mormon Power* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986), 77. See also Mauss, 115; and Prince and Wright, 321.

¹⁰ Gary James Bergera, "'A Sad and Expensive Experience': Ernest L. Wilkinson's 1964 Bid for the U.S. Senate," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 61 (Fall 1993): 304-324; Prince and Wright, 172-179; Ostling and Ostling, 232.

¹¹ W. Cleon Skousen, *The Naked Communist* (Salt Lake City: The Ensign Publishing Company, 1958), 208-212.

¹² Gottlieb and Wiley, *America's Saints*, 91.

promotion of these views. One of Benson's sons accepted a position as vice-president of the institute, which enhanced the organization's image among some Latter-day Saints.¹³

In the late 1960s, the LDS Church took a more active role in Utah politics. Church leadership demonstrated its effectiveness at influencing state electoral outcomes in 1968, when it convinced Utah's predominantly Mormon population to reject a ballot referendum that would have allowed a "liquor-by-the-drink" alcohol sales policy.¹⁴ Political scientist Ron Hrebenar noted that in the 1970s, the church "placed its formidable organization formally or informally behind a wide range of so-called moral issues. Those...include opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment, homosexual rights, pornography, abortion."¹⁵

LDS leaders' views on social and cultural issues mirrored those of many non-Mormon Americans who were also wrestling with such matters by the 1970s. Historian Robert A. Goldberg noted that many Americans remained uncomfortable with the cultural changes that emerged from the political and social activism of the 1960s; they feared that the nation was undergoing a moral and spiritual decline.¹⁶ After the U.S. Supreme Court's *Roe v. Wade*¹⁷ decision in 1973, a major debate emerged about whether women should be legally allowed to have abortions. Homosexuality also became more visible with the mobilization of a gay rights movement. In response to these developments, powerful new conservative religious organizations, including Christian

¹³ On Skousen's Freeman Institute, see Gottlieb and Wiley, *America's Saints*, 90-92; O. Kendall White, Jr., "A Review and Commentary on the Prospects of a Mormon New Christian Right Coalition," *Review of Religious Research* 28 (December 1986): 180-181; and Lee Roderick, *Leading the Charge: Orrin Hatch and 20 Years of America* (Carson City, NV: Gold Leaf Press, 1994), 44-45.

¹⁴ Peterson, 517.

¹⁵ Ron Hrebenar, "Utah: The Most Republican State in the Union," *The Social Science Journal* 18 (October 1981): 103.

¹⁶ Robert A. Goldberg, *Barry Goldwater* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 298.

¹⁷ 410 U.S. 113 (1973).

Voice and the Moral Majority, mobilized the faithful to become active politically. The “Religious Right” brought together people of various denominations who held conservative social views.¹⁸ In a 1986 article, sociologist O. Kendall White, Jr. summarized scholars’ debate over whether Mormons should be considered part of the Religious Right coalition. White argued convincingly that Latter-day Saints had indeed joined this movement by the late 1970s and early 1980s.¹⁹ The rise of LDS activism in promotion of conservative social views had a major impact on Utah politics in 1976 and played an important role in Orrin Hatch’s victory over Senator Frank Moss.

¹⁸ On gay rights, see Bruce J. Schulman, *The Seventies: The Great Shift in American Culture, Society, and Politics* (New York: The Free Press, 2001), 179-181; on the Religious Right, see Gillian Peele, *Revival and Reaction: The Right in Contemporary America* (Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1984), 106-111.

¹⁹ White, 182-187. See also Ostling and Ostling, 112.

THE CANDIDATES OF 1976

Born in Utah, Moss was a Mormon “of pioneer stock.” After attending public school in the state, he graduated from the University of Utah with “high honors” in 1933. He then moved to Washington, D.C. to attend law school at George Washington University, completing his juris doctor degree in 1937.¹ His experiences in the nation’s capital during Franklin Roosevelt’s New Deal helped form his “moderate liberal” political ideology.² After serving in World War II, Moss won election to the office of Salt Lake County Attorney. In 1958, he ran for the Senate and won, despite getting less than 40 percent of the vote. Right-of-center voters had divided their ballots between a Republican and a conservative independent candidate, enabling Moss to capture a narrow victory in a three-person race. Although he was initially elected to Congress with the support of only a minority of the Utah electorate, Moss easily won re-election in 1964, which was a good year for Democrats in Utah and throughout the United States.³ In 1970, Moss “looked potentially vulnerable” to some but survived a challenge from a “law-and-order” conservative and comfortably won a third term.⁴

¹ John S. McCormick, “Frank E. ‘Ted’ Moss,” in *Utah History Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 382; Twila Van Leer, “He’d like to plow to end of the row,” *Deseret News*, 22 October 1976, Clipping Files: Moss, (Senator) Frank E., JWML; “Moss Plants Utah Tree,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 26 April 1975, Clipping Files: Moss, (Senator) Frank E., JWML.

² Rod Decker, “‘I feel like a hollow man,’ ex-Sen. Moss says,” *Deseret News*, 21 September 1977, pp. B-1 and B-6.

³ Van Leer, “He’d like to plow to end of the row”; Bergera, 321-322.

⁴ Dexter Ellis, “Can Utah’s GOP unseat Moss?” *Deseret News*, 9 September 1975, Clipping Files: Moss, (Senator) Frank E., JWML; McCormick, 382.

In his capacity as a United States Senator, Moss played a major role in establishing some of Utah's national parks. He also successfully pushed for antismoking regulations and consumer protection legislation.⁵ By 1971, Moss had risen to the position of "secretary of the Democratic conference," making him the third-highest ranking Democrat in the Senate.⁶

In April 1975, Moss cast a vote that would haunt him throughout his 1976 re-election campaign. He voted against the Bartlett Amendment, a measure that prohibited the use of federal funds for abortions, except when necessary to save the life of a mother. Angry letters to local newspapers condemned him for failing to support this legislation. Abortion would become a major issue in the Utah Senate race; Moss' political opponents repeatedly drew attention to his vote.⁷

In June 1975, Moss was frustrated and surprised when a poll showed that his job approval ratings were lower than he had expected. Republican Senator Jake Garn, who had been elected in November 1974, had a slightly higher job approval rating than the incumbent Democrat. Moss wrote to a friend, "I was somewhat humiliated to run two points behind my junior colleague who hasn't yet been in the Senate for six months." He voiced his concern that the "right-wing and the conservative element shows up strongly

⁵ Thomas G. Smith, "The Canyonlands National Park Controversy, 1961-64," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 59 (Summer 1991): 216-242; McCormick, 382.

⁶ Frank Hewlett, "Moss to Seek No. 2 Post in Senate," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 6 March 1976, Clipping Files: Moss, (Senator) Frank E., JWML.

⁷ Congress, Senate, Debate and Vote on Amendment No. 336 to the Nurse Training and Health Revenue Sharing and Health Services Act of 1975, S. 66, 94th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 121, pt. 8 (10 April 1975): 9802-9823; Valerie VanderDoes, "Great Slaughter [Letter to the editor]," *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, 25 August 1975, The Papers of Frank E. Moss (MS 146), Box 574, Folder 1 – Political – 1976 – Moss Campaign – Newspaper Clippings, JWML; Jan Carroll, "Right to Live [Letter to the editor]," *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, 18 August 1975, The Papers of Frank E. Moss (MS 146), Box 574, Folder 1 – Political – 1976 – Moss Campaign – Newspaper Clippings, JWML.

now. They perceive me as being a moderate to liberal. Some of them even think that I am a flaming liberal.”⁸

A poll released in November 1975 showed Moss ahead of potential Republican opponents, but by a surprisingly narrow margin for a three-term incumbent. It indicated that Moss’ lead was significantly larger among non-LDS voters than among Mormons. “Some people might be surprised that Moss is not running better in the polls, but there appears to be a great disenchantment with Congress at this time in Utah,” pollster Dan Jones wrote in the *Deseret News*.⁹

Moss further inflamed those who regarded his congressional voting record as too liberal in November 1975 when he supported a controversial bill backed by organized labor. His vote for the Common Situs Picketing Bill, which sought to make it easier for unions to picket on construction sites, became a lightning rod for criticism.¹⁰

Utah’s labor movement had historically been weak, with only 13 percent of Utahns holding union membership in 1973. Right-to-work laws had shackled the state’s unions since 1955.¹¹ Also important was the LDS Church’s skepticism toward the labor movement. Departing from its general policy of political neutrality in the mid-1960s, the church endorsed right-to-work laws. In 1965, church leaders encouraged Mormon members of Congress to vote against repealing Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act, which allowed states to enact such laws. To them, a closed-shop system of “compulsory

⁸ Letter from Frank E. Moss to Fran Sturdivan of Pueblo, Colorado, 27 June 1975, The Papers of Frank E. Moss (MS 146), Box 573, Folder 3 – Political – 1976 – Moss Campaign Correspondence (1975), JWML.

⁹ Hal Knight and Dan Jones, “A slight edge for Moss,” *Deseret News*, 14 November 1975, pp. A-1 and A-15.

¹⁰ Congress, Senate, Vote on the Equal Treatment of Craft and Industrial Workers bill, H.R. 5900, 94th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 121, pt. 29 (19 November 1975): 37462.

¹¹ James L. Clayton, “Contemporary Economic Development,” in *Utah’s History*, ed. Richard D. Poll (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), 539.

unionism” violated the LDS doctrinal principle of “free agency.”¹² Some Mormon Democrats nevertheless maintained their support for repeal of Section 14b. Five of them, including Moss, sent a letter to church leaders that declared, “While we respect and revere the offices held by the members of the First Presidency of the Church, we cannot...delegate our own free agency to any but ourselves.”¹³

Similarly, Moss defended his 1975 vote for the Common Situs Picketing Bill as a matter of conscience. His justifications did little to quiet a chorus of criticism in Utah. Both major Salt Lake City newspapers, the *Deseret News* and the *Salt Lake Tribune*, published editorials condemning his vote. Constituents’ reactions to his support of the bill, both in letters to his senate office and in public forums, were largely negative. He would receive criticism throughout the campaign for his prolabor voting record.¹⁴

Despite Moss’s controversial votes on abortion and labor issues in 1975, a poll released in February 1976 had the incumbent ahead of potential Republican foes. In March, it became clear that upcoming retirements would vacate the Senate Majority Whip job in 1977, and Moss announced plans to pursue that position. If re-elected, he could become the highest-ranking Utah senator in state history. Moss hoped that his bid

¹² Mauss, 115.

¹³ Quoted in H. George Frederickson and Alden J. Stevens, “The Mormon Congressman and the Line Between Church and State,” *Dialogue* 3 (Summer 1968): 125.

¹⁴ “Veto the ‘common situs’ bill [editorial],” *Deseret News*, 2 December 1975, Clipping Files: Moss, (Senator) Frank E., JWML; “A Dubious Justification [editorial],” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 26 November 1975, Clipping Files: Moss, (Senator) Frank E., JWML; “Moss defends picketing bill vote,” *Deseret News*, 5 December 1975, p. B-4. Examples of the critical public response to Moss’ vote for the Common Situs Picketing Bill include: Western Union telegram from Lewis G. Hersey of Salt Lake City to Frank E. Moss, 2 December 1975, The Papers of Frank E. Moss (MS 146), Box 573, Folder 3 – Political – 1976 – Moss Campaign Correspondence (1975), JWML; E. Leroy Anderson, “Borrowing A Phrase [letter to the editor],” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 5 December 1975, The Papers of Frank E. Moss (MS 146), Box 573, Folder 14 – Political – 1976 – Moss Campaign – Newspaper Clippings, JWML.

for Majority Whip would convince voters that it was in their best interest to return him to the Senate because of his power to get things done for Utah.¹⁵

The Utah Republican Party commissioned a survey of the state's population in April that assessed Moss's strengths and weaknesses as a candidate for re-election. It asked Utah voters to describe their views of the incumbent senator. The *Salt Lake Tribune* reported that voters praised Moss for several reasons: "Concerned about Utah, works for the people, keeps in touch, works hard, honest, handles job well, fights smoking advertisements, responds to letters, seniority." They also mentioned negative attributes: "Disagree with his political viewpoints, too liberal, in too long, publicity hound, wishy-washy, too pro-labor, don't trust him, doesn't represent the people, never hear about him, he is never in Utah."¹⁶ It is noteworthy that only one of the positive characteristics voters mentioned, his opposition to "smoking advertisements," concerned his political positions, while three of the negatives expressed opposition to his ideological views. The survey suggested that Moss' political opinions were not compatible with those of the Utah electorate in 1976.

In the elections of 1964 and 1970, Utahns had approved of Moss's moderately liberal voting record, or had at least tolerated it enough to return him to the U.S. Senate. However, by 1976 the local electorate had become more conservative, which made the incumbent senator ideologically vulnerable to a challenge from the right. The Republicans simply needed to find a candidate who could effectively appeal to the

¹⁵ J. Roy Bardsley, "Sen. Moss Holding Lead Over 3 Potential Foes," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 22 February 1976, Clipping Files: Utah Elections 1975-1976, Folder: Utah Elections 1976 – National Offices – Nos. 25-56, JWML; Hewlett, "Moss to Seek No. 2 Post in Senate."

¹⁶ Douglas L. Parker, "No Consensus [sic] on Issues, GOP's Survey Reveals," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 4 April 1976, The Papers of Frank E. Moss (MS 146), Box 572, Folder 15 – Political – 1976 – Hatch, Orrin – Newspaper Clippings, JWML.

public's dissatisfaction with the status quo and exploit the growing cultural discord between LDS voters and certain liberal policies associated with the Democratic Party. Orrin Hatch emerged from political anonymity to successfully employ these tactics and take advantage of the state's rightward political shift.

Hatch filed as a candidate for the Republican nomination for United States Senate just before the deadline in early May 1976. "The old-line party professionals tell me I have no chance to win – to even come out of the party state convention. But I'm used to impossible odds. That's the story of my life," Hatch announced to the press.¹⁷

Hatch was born near Pittsburgh to a "blue-collar" LDS family of "Depression Democrats and union members."¹⁸ As a young man he briefly worked as a metal lathe operator and joined the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), an ironic fact considering his eventual evolution into a conservative, antiunion politician. After earning a bachelor's degree at BYU and a law degree from the University of Pittsburgh, he practiced law in Pennsylvania for several years before moving to Utah in 1969. Hatch's relatively brief residency in the state ultimately did not hurt him in the contest, and he was able to turn his lack of political experience into an advantage rather than a liability.¹⁹

Hatch's political fate was in the hands of Republican state convention delegates elected by local "mass meetings" in May 1976. Both political parties in Utah used the mass meeting system to select convention delegates. The *Deseret News* reported that

¹⁷ Douglas L. Parker, "Last Hopefuls Sign in for Spot on Ballot," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 11 May 1976, pp. 15 and 21.

¹⁸ Roderick, 10; Elaine Jarvik, "Orrin Hatch and Manifest Destiny," *Utah Holiday*, September 1982, 52.

¹⁹ Twila Van Leer, "Always been a fighter – my aim's to win," *Deseret News*, 19 August 1976, The Papers of Frank E. Moss (MS 146), Box 572, Folder 14 – Political – 1976 – Hatch, Orrin – Newspaper Clippings, JWML; Roderick, 30-36.

“Republican mass meeting attendance was up, in some cases spectacularly so,” while Democrats appeared at party meetings in “about average or below average” numbers.²⁰ Renee Pyott Carlson recalled in her memoir of her husband Jack’s unsuccessful Republican primary contest against Hatch that in her LDS congregation, Republican mass meeting locations were announced in church, but Democratic meeting locations were not, a possible indication of increasing support for Republicans among Mormons during this period.

Hatch faced four rivals in his bid to be Utah’s Republican nominee for U.S. Senator. He needed to be one of the two most popular candidates among state GOP delegates at the party convention in July in order to advance to the September primary. Moss had no challengers for the state Democratic Party’s Senate nomination, and he remained focused upon his legislative duties in Washington while Hatch maneuvered to gain the support of conservatives in Utah.

Hatch would benefit from developments that pushed members of the LDS Church toward the right during the summer of 1976. The *Ensign*, the official magazine of the LDS Church, included numerous articles about politics and patriotism in its June issue, some of which warned about potential corruption of the nation’s government. One admonished Latter-day Saints to be patriotic, but “to constantly be on guard against threats to the central elements of the Constitution.”²¹ Another noted that “unwise or dishonorable men can corrupt a fair system.”²² The magazine advised Mormons to respect the constitutional structure of American government, but suggested that in some

²⁰ Dexter C. Ellis, “Demos go for Church and Udall,” *Deseret News*, 18 May 1976, pp. B-1 and B-2.

²¹ D. Michael Stewart, “I Have a Question,” *Ensign*, June 1976, 64-65.

²² Edwin Brown Firmage, “Eternal Principles of Government: A Theological Approach,” *Ensign*, June 1976, 11.

instances they could resist unrighteous laws passed by national leaders. BYU president Dallin H. Oaks wrote that “if the current laws *permitting* abortion (which are highly objectionable) were expanded to *requiring* abortion in certain instances, an unwilling mother and father...would be justified in refusing to obey the law.”²³

In summer 1976, LDS leaders suggested that a righteous government deserved the support of its citizens, but people should not expect to be financially supported by government. A BYU professor writing in the June issue of the *Ensign* noted that “The leaders of the Church have generally regarded the growth of state welfare in the twentieth century as a dangerous experiment with our constitutional form of government.”²⁴

Mormon apostle Ezra Taft Benson echoed this sentiment, labeling government welfare “legalized plunder” in a speech to a civic group that same month.²⁵ This was not the first time an LDS general authority had been critical of federal largesse. Top Mormon leaders had opposed the New Deal and created a church-administered poverty assistance program during the 1930s that was independent of federal aid.²⁶

LDS voters’ wariness of federal power derived partially from their church’s history as a besieged minority faith. The original Mormon settlers of Utah intended to establish a separate religious polity where they would be safe from the persecution they had often encountered in the East. However, the federal government eventually forced them to give up their religious practice of polygamy, arresting prominent LDS leaders and confiscating church property until Mormons officially abandoned plural marriage in

²³ Dallin H. Oaks, “I Have a Question,” *Ensign*, June 1976, 61-62.

²⁴ Noel B. Reynolds, “I Have a Question,” *Ensign*, June 1976, 64.

²⁵ Jack Fenton, “Benson Attacks Welfare as ‘Legal Plunder’,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 27 June 1976, p. B-1.

²⁶ Ostling and Ostling, 108-109.

1890.²⁷ By rejecting assistance from Washington in the twentieth century, Mormons hoped to maintain their pioneer ideals of self-sufficiency and independence from heavy-handed federal authorities.

However, the unique background of the Mormon people was only one of many factors motivating opposition to government authority in Utah during the 1970s. People throughout the nation criticized “big government” during this period. As the prosperity of the 1950s and 1960s gave way to economic stagnation in the 1970s, resentment over federal spending increased. Political scientist John Dumbrell noted that a declining economy meant that government programs could not be funded by economic growth as they had in the 1960s, but instead “could be achieved only through painful redistribution” that some middle-class and upper-class voters might be unwilling to accept.²⁸ Journalist Thomas Byrne Edsall contended that because lawmakers failed to adjust marginal tax rates during this period, inflation deepened the impact of taxes upon middle-class Americans.²⁹

Scholars have noted that race also played an important role in the conservative attitudes about government spending that became prevalent during the 1970s. Democrats’ emphasis on helping minorities since the 1960s bred resentment among some white voters. There was much public criticism of programs perceived as

²⁷ Sarah Barringer Gordon, *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 154-160, 183-187, 220.

²⁸ John Dumbrell, *The Carter Presidency: A Re-evaluation* (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1993), 16.

²⁹ Thomas Byrne Edsall, “The Changing Shape of Power: A Realignment in Public Policy,” in *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930-1980*, ed. Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 278-279.

disproportionately benefiting African Americans, such as welfare, school busing, and affirmative action.³⁰

In 1978, blacks made up only 0.6 percent, and Hispanics only 3.9 percent, of Utah's total population. The absence of sizable nonwhite populations may have promoted a belief that federal antipoverty programs benefited minorities in distant places rather than addressing local problems. The LDS Church denied African Americans the "priesthood" granted to most active Mormon males until 1978. This exclusion bolstered prejudiced attitudes among some Utahns prior to the church's change in policy.³¹

Hatch did address some issues often characterized as racially coded during his 1976 campaign. He did not "believe in a federally controlled and administered national welfare program."³² He once criticized Moss for supporting school busing, and he expressed his support of "increasing states rights [sic]" in a campaign advertisement.³³ Moss countered that "The government should be obligated to assist in funding welfare programs."³⁴ A combination of racial resentment and Western individualism made federal assistance unpopular in Utah, which helped Hatch and hurt Moss.

At the same time the state's LDS voters received messages in the *Ensign* and from Benson criticizing federal power, scandals appeared to demonstrate the moral corruption

³⁰ For detailed examinations of the impact of race on the rise of the conservative movement, see Thomas Byrne Edsall and Mary D. Edsall, *Chain Reaction: The Impact of Race, Rights, and Taxes on American Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1992); and Dan T. Carter, *From George Wallace to Newt Gingrich: Race in the Conservative Counterrevolution, 1963-1994* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1996).

³¹ For Utah's racial demographics, see Dean C. Greer, Klaus D. Gurgel, Wayne L. Wahlquist, Howard A. Christy, and Gary B. Peterson, *Atlas of Utah* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1981), 122; on blacks and the LDS priesthood, see Ostling and Ostling, 94-103.

³² "Hatch responds to issues questionnaire," *Logan Herald Journal*, 12 September 1976, The Papers of Frank E. Moss (MS 146), Box 572, Folder 15 – Political – 1976 – Hatch, Orrin – Newspaper Clippings, JWML.

³³ "GOP Senate hopefuls attack Moss vote record," *Deseret News*, 24 May 1976, p. B-12; "Utah Needs a New Senator."

³⁴ Van Leer, "He'd like to plow to the end of the row."

of several federal politicians. In summer 1976, the media focused on a series of Washington sex scandals involving prominent members of Congress, most of them Democrats.³⁵ LDS Church President Spencer W. Kimball issued a statement in response, later published in the July issue of the *Ensign*. "New disclosures and charges regarding questionable activities of public servants in Washington, D.C., in addition to those in recent months and years, are shocking indeed," Kimball said. He stated that government officials should "be an example to the world in uncompromising integrity, in wise and prudent stewardship of public funds, in personal morality, including fidelity in marriage."³⁶

On June 14, 1976, many Utahns were shocked to discover that one of their representatives had been implicated in a scandal that related to his "personal morality." Newspapers reported that Salt Lake City police had arrested incumbent Democratic Congressman Allan Howe for soliciting sex from a police officer disguised as a prostitute. Soon afterward Howe met with Senator Moss and Representative Gunn McKay for advice about his political future, and both urged him to resign his office. He initially agreed to quit Congress, but later changed his mind, insisting that his arrest was a set-up and he was innocent. Howe said he would beat the charges and win re-election.³⁷

Moss disapproved of Howe's decision and refused to support his candidacy.³⁸ "I don't think there is a prayer that he could be re-elected in Utah even if he could beat the

³⁵ Betty Anne Williams, "Ohio Democrat Confesses To 'Affair' With Employee [sic]," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 26 May 1976, pp. 1-2; "Texas Solon Asks U.S. Probe in 2nd Sex-Payroll Scandal," 12 June 1976, p. 1.

³⁶ "President Kimball Condemns Wrongdoing by Government Officials," *Ensign*, July 1976, 76.

³⁷ Peter J. Scarlet, "Utah's Howe Seized on Sex Charge," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 14 June 1976, pp. 1-2; Frank Hewlett, "Howe to Decide Today on Future Plans," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 15 June 1976, pp. 1-2; Decker, pp. B-1 and B-6; "Howe Statement: Here's Full Text," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 19 June 1976, p. A-4.

³⁸ "Top Demos Dismayed At Decision," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 19 June 1976, pp. A-1 and A-2.

charge itself. After all, he was down there (6th West and 2nd South) and he does not deny that,” Moss said.³⁹

Moss received a slew of letters about the Howe scandal. Some constituents expressed their outrage over Howe’s behavior, often making reference to Howe’s membership in the LDS Church. “Jail him or whatever but we don’t want him to represent our state or our church any longer! The damage he has done to both will take years to undo,” one said.⁴⁰ Other voters expressed their anger that Moss had withdrawn his support for Howe’s candidacy. “I will vote for Howe...because he feels, as I do, that it was a set up. But I don’t think I’d vote for you again,” a constituent wrote.⁴¹

The scandal appeared in Utah headlines for months as Howe faced his legal trials while conducting a re-election bid. After two separate juries convicted Howe of solicitation, the Utah Democratic Party officially withdrew its support of his candidacy. It was too late to take Howe’s name off the ballot, so the party endorsed a write-in candidate for the Second District House seat.⁴²

Moss feared that Howe’s issues were hurting his own re-election campaign. Moss aptly described his political dilemma regarding the Howe scandal in a letter to a constituent. “You say that some people are against me because I am not disassociating

³⁹ Clark Lobb, “Howe Calls Newsmen To 11:30 a.m. Talk,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 18 June 1976, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁰ Letter from the Jake Jensen Family of Salt Lake City to Frank E. Moss, 17 June 1976, The Papers of Frank E. Moss (MS 146), Box 572, Folder 17 – Political – 1976 – Howe, Allan – Correspondence (June 1976), JWML.

⁴¹ Letter from Vera Harding of Pleasant Grove to Frank E. Moss, 18 June 1976, The Papers of Frank E. Moss (MS 146), Box 572, Folder 17 – Political – 1976 – Howe, Allan – Correspondence (June 1976), JWML.

⁴² Douglas L. Parker, “Demos Disavow Support Of Howe, Tap McCarty,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 19 September 1976, p. B-1.

myself from Congressman Howe and I get other letters from people who complain that I have been too harsh on Allan...I guess it is just impossible to please everyone.”⁴³

⁴³ Letter from Frank E. Moss to Donald L. Pisciotta of Salt Lake City, 14 September 1976, The Papers of Frank E. Moss (MS 146), Box 572, Folder 17 – Political – 1976 – Howe, Allan – Correspondence (June 1976), JWML.

THE REPUBLICAN PRIMARY

Anger over the Howe scandal combined with social conservatism and suspicion of federal power to create an ideal political environment for Republicans in Utah during 1976. Orrin Hatch benefited from this ideological climate. He spent the summer trying to gain support from state convention delegates by running to the right of other Republican candidates. He wrote in his autobiography that he was viewed as “the young outsider...the darling of the so-called ultraconservatives” in the contest for the Republican Party’s Senate nomination.¹ Leaders of the far-right-wing in Utah, including W. Cleon Skousen and Ernest Wilkinson, endorsed Hatch early on in the race.² Skousen authored a letter to thousands of his political acolytes that promoted Hatch as “a candidate...who is running for the express purpose of waging a fight to restore Constitutional principles in this country.”³

To advance to the Republican primary, Hatch had to win over state convention delegates who were more familiar with other candidates. Hatch sent each of them an audio tape that described his background and outlined his political beliefs. In the tape, he touted his humble origins, expressed his opposition to abortion and pornography, and vowed, “I will do my very best to keep the Washingtonians from coming out here and

¹ Orrin Hatch, *Square Peg: Confessions of a Citizen Senator* (New York: Basic Books, 2002), xiii.

² Roderick, 44-45.

³ W. Cleon Skousen mailing in support of Orrin Hatch for Senate, 12 May 1976, The Papers of Frank E. Moss (MS 146), Box 572, Folder 13 – Political – 1976 – Hatch, Orrin, JWML; Roderick, 45-46.

dominating every aspect of your lives.”⁴ Those involved in state politics in 1976 remembered the tape as a highly effective promotion of Hatch’s candidacy. He won the support of the second-highest number of delegates out of the five Senate candidates competing at the July state convention. This meant he advanced to the September primary, in which he would battle economist Jack Carlson for the official GOP nomination for United States Senator.⁵

Carlson and Hatch held similar positions on the major political issues of 1976. Both Republican candidates were active Mormons who favored a constitutional amendment to overturn *Roe v. Wade*. Each praised “free enterprise” and criticized government bureaucracy. They both advocated greater state control of Utah’s land, most of which was federally owned. Hatch promoted himself as the more conservative of the two candidates, but in reality their differences were often more stylistic than ideological.⁶

Carlson, a former assistant Interior Department secretary in the Ford Administration with a Ph.D. in Economics from Harvard University, was a better-known figure than Hatch because of his background in public life.⁷ Hatch attacked Carlson’s Washington experience and touted his own status as a political outsider. Hatch biographer Lee Roderick called the primary race “a classic confrontation between a

⁴ Orrin Hatch testimonial to Utah Republican state delegates, The Papers of Frank E. Moss (MS 146), Frank E. Moss Tapes AO146 #83, JWML.

⁵ Peter Billings, interview by author, 28 January 2008, Salt Lake City; Dan Jones, interview by author, 21 February 1976, Salt Lake City; Roderick, 47-48; Clark Lobb, “Reagan Gets All of Utah’s 20 Delegates, Alternates,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 18 July 1976, pp. 1-2.

⁶ Charles J. Seldin, “Free Enterprise Hopefuls’ Theme,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 15 August 1976, pp. B-1 and B-8.

⁷ On the career and background of Jack Carlson, see Roderick, 47-49; Carlson, 4-17; and “GOP’s Two Senate Aspirants Seeking to Challenge Moss,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 12 September 1976, p. A-18.

political novice whose forte was an evangelical appeal to voters and a seasoned veteran steeped in the nuances of government.”⁸

A national survey conducted in August 1976 showed considerable public distrust of politicians.⁹ Americans’ loss of confidence in political leaders occurred in large part because the Vietnam quagmire and the Watergate scandal had severely undermined the credibility of governmental institutions. While Watergate damaged the image of the Republican Party, it did not delegitimize conservatism. Historian Bruce J. Schulman contended that Watergate ultimately helped the Right because it heightened the American public’s “contempt for the secrecy, inefficiency, and failures of ‘big government’.”¹⁰ Dumbrell observed that polling data showed “a significant decrease in support for virtually all, but especially American national governmental, institutions” during the 1970s.¹¹ Former Carter administration official Stuart E. Eizenstat recalled that there was a public desire to “bring ethics into government, reorganize the federal government and reduce the bureaucracy...and balance the budget.”¹² Hatch sought to capitalize on these issues.

Hatch’s “antipolitician” persona was a central part of his campaign, an image he honed in the primary race and used to full effect in the general election contest against Moss. He promoted himself as a virtuous outsider, giving him an effective counter-argument to charges that he lacked the political experience to hold high office. He attacked Carlson as a former Washington bureaucrat who was “used to big spending and

⁸ Roderick, 51.

⁹ George Gallup, “Scandals Harm Solons’ Image,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 22 August 1976, p. A-16.

¹⁰ Schulman, 42.

¹¹ Dumbrell, 22.

¹² Stuart E. Eizenstat, “President Carter, the Democratic Party, and the Making of Domestic Policy,” in *The Presidency and Domestic Policies of Jimmy Carter*, ed. Herbert D. Rosenbaum and Alexej Ugrinsky (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994), 7.

government orientation.” Carlson countered by charging that a lawyer like Hatch could not effect necessary changes in Congress. “Senators don’t realize how they’re screwing up the economy. They’re almost all lawyers...[t]hey need a free enterprise economist, which I am,” Carlson said.¹³ Carlson also suggested that he would be better able to restrain the federal government because he was already familiar with how it operated.¹⁴

Hatch gained a major advantage in promoting his anti-big government message when he received an endorsement from Ronald Reagan one week before the September primary. The former California governor was very popular in Utah, having received widespread support in the Beehive State during his bid to upset President Gerald Ford in the contest for the Republican presidential nomination. In April 1976, he held a campaign fund-raiser in Salt Lake City, meeting with the First Presidency of the LDS Church during his visit. Polling of Utah Republicans indicated that Reagan was more popular among Latter-day Saints than among non-Mormon Republican voters. Reagan returned to Utah in July and delivered a speech to the Republican state convention, which convinced all twenty of Utah’s delegates to the national convention to pledge their support to him. Utah did not have a Republican presidential primary in 1976, but polls showed that a majority of GOP voters in the state favored Reagan.¹⁵

Hatch sought to capitalize upon Reagan’s popularity among Utahns going into the primary election. His campaign staffers contacted Reagan adviser Michael Deaver to ask for an endorsement. They showed Deaver a poll indicating that Hatch was beating

¹³ Seldin, pp. B-1 and B-8.

¹⁴ “GOP’s Two Senate Aspirants Seeking to Challenge Moss,” p. A-18.

¹⁵ Lou Cannon, *Governor Reagan: His Rise to Power* (New York: Public Affairs, 2003), 393-436; Douglas L. Parker, “Bureaucratic Excesses Threaten Nation, Reagan Tells Banquet,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 8 April 1976, pp. B-1 and B-12; Dexter Ellis, “Reagan crowds Ford in Utah,” *Deseret News*, 2 December 1975, Clipping Files: Utah Elections 1975-1976, Folder: Utah Elections 1976 – National Offices – Nos. 1-24, JWML; Lobb, “Reagan Gets All of Utah’s 20 Delegates, Alternates,” pp. A-1 and A-2; Dexter C. Ellis, “Still Reagan in Utah,” *Deseret News*, 6 August 1976, pp. A-1 and A-10.

Carlson. According to Hatch biographer Lee Roderick, Deaver became convinced that Reagan “would get the credit for Hatch’s victory and cement a friendship that could be valuable” later in his political career if he agreed to endorse.¹⁶ As a result, the Hatch campaign obtained a telegram from Reagan that provided proof of the endorsement and reproduced it as an advertisement that appeared in the state’s major newspapers. Carlson responded by attempting to secure an endorsement from Gerald Ford, but the president only pledged his assistance in the general election campaign if the economist won the September primary.¹⁷

Hatch won an easy victory, capturing 64.6 percent of the vote to Carlson’s 35.4 percent, which surprised local pundits who had expected a closer race. Many commentators agreed that the Reagan endorsement played a major role in Hatch’s landslide primary win. Some in the Moss campaign worried that Hatch’s unexpected success in the primary indicated that Utah was becoming more conservative. Both Reagan and Hatch gained statewide popularity by giving voice to the antifederal sentiment percolating among local voters. This development did not bode well for incumbent Senator Moss, whom Hatch would paint with the same anti-Washington brush he had used against Carlson.¹⁸

¹⁶ Roderick, 54-55.

¹⁷ “A telegraph from Ronald Reagan to all the people of Utah,” Campaign Advertisement of Orrin Hatch, *Salt Lake Tribune*, 12 September 1976, p. A-13; Douglas L. Parker, “Primary Today To Decide Utah Tickets,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 14 September 1976, pp. 1-2.

¹⁸ Congressional Quarterly, *Congressional Elections: 1946-1996* (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1998), 156; Roderick, 54-55; Billings interview; William Pingree, interview by author, 29 January 2008, Salt Lake City; “Puzzle: Hatch’s margin,” *Deseret News*, 16 September 1976, The Papers of Frank E. Moss (MS 146), Box 572, Folder 15 – Political – 1976 – Hatch, Orrin – Newspaper Clippings, JWML.

THE GENERAL ELECTION

A poll taken just after the Republican primary showed that Hatch had jumped out to an early lead over Moss. The survey established that voters' preferences diverged along religious lines. Mormon voters favored Hatch by a margin of 54.1 percent to 36.0 percent, while voters who were not members of the LDS church favored Moss, 49.0 percent to 33.8 percent.¹ Further evidence indicated Mormon voters' disaffection with the Democratic Party in September 1976. A poll about the presidential race showed that Utah's LDS voters favored Republican Gerald Ford over Democrat Jimmy Carter by an overwhelming margin of 60.6 percent to 23.0 percent, while other Utahns split their votes "almost evenly" between Ford and Carter.²

Facing an uphill battle, Moss sought to remind Utah voters of his service to the state by releasing campaign advertisements that featured the slogan "Senator Moss works for you!" and listed his legislative accomplishments in the Senate.³ They identified the incumbent senator as a prominent Washington power broker, a message that Moss reinforced when he brought five sitting U.S. senators to Utah to participate in a fund-

¹ Twila Van Leer, "Hatch has early lead against Moss," *Deseret News*, 16 September 1976, pp. A-1 and A-6.

² Twila Van Leer, "Carter loses ground in Utah," *Deseret News*, 22 September 1976, pp. A-1 and A-8.

³ "Senator Moss works for you!" Campaign Advertisement of Frank E. Moss, Vertical Files: Utah – Elections – 1976 – National Offices, JWML.

raiser. The move demonstrated his influence among his Senate colleagues, but it also tied him to an unpopular political status quo.⁴

In contrast, Hatch ran as a fiery anti-Washington conservative. “We used to have statesmen in the Senate. Now we seem to have just expedient politicians,” Hatch said shortly after declaring his candidacy.⁵ He advocated decreasing the power of federal bureaucracy, cutting excessive spending, and balancing the budget. “As your senator Orrin will strive to reduce the encroachment of Washington’s unaccountable bureaucracy, and return government to the people,” one campaign brochure proclaimed.⁶ Another advertisement declared that “Orrin Hatch believes reckless government spending is the primary cause of inflation,” and indicated that Congress could effectively reduce prices if it balanced the budget.⁷

Moss realized that he was vulnerable on these issues, so he issued his own criticisms of excessive government spending in 1976. In a speech to a gathering of Boy Scouts, he stated that “we must not only be thinking of what our government should do, but what it shouldn’t be doing or even attempting to do...[w]e must rely more on free enterprise.”⁸ Moss promoted spending reductions in his campaign advertising. “With the rising costs of food, fuel, housing – just about everything – Utahns are hurting and have a right to be angry at the way the Nation’s budget and deficit in the last eight years have grown out of all proportion,” read one brochure.⁹ This statement connected high

⁴ “\$7,000 for Moss,” *Deseret News*, 25 August 1976, Clipping Files: Moss, (Senator) Frank E., JWML.

⁵ Parker, “Last Hopefuls Sign in for Spot on Ballot,” pp. 15 and 21.

⁶ “Orrin Hatch for Senate, Orrin Hatch for Utah,” Campaign Advertisement of Orrin Hatch, Vertical Files: Utah – Elections – 1976 – National Offices, JWML.

⁷ “Utah Needs a New Senator,” Campaign Advertisement of Orrin Hatch, Vertical Files: Utah – Elections – 1976 – National Offices, JWML.

⁸ “Must trim dead wood, Moss says,” *Deseret News*, 21 February 1976, Clipping Files: Moss, (Senator) Frank E., JWML.

⁹ “Senator Moss works for you!”

consumer prices to government spending, essentially accepting the conservative argument that excessive federal largesse significantly contributed to recent economic stagnation.

Both Senate candidates agreed that federal waste was hurting the nation's economy, which gave a conservative like Hatch an advantage. By criticizing big government, Moss left himself vulnerable to charges of hypocrisy because his lengthy Senate record included votes to create new federal programs, such as Medicaid. One of Hatch's major talking points was that Moss received a "budget-buster award" from the American Conservative Union based on his record of support for federal spending. Nevertheless, Moss' campaign strategically portrayed the incumbent senator as a crusader against government waste in accordance with the prevailing political mood.¹⁰

Moss raised more campaign cash than Hatch, with labor unions the largest source of Moss's campaign money. He was the tenth biggest Senate recipient of labor money during the 1976 election cycle.¹¹ The AFL-CIO printed and distributed promotional materials that described Moss as an ally of Utah's "working people."¹² Moss's close association with unions gave him a financial and institutional support base, but was also a political liability. Hatch criticized what he characterized as Moss's "straight labor union voting record," and vowed that he would not be a servant of such "special interest

¹⁰ "Moss' Medicaid probe hit," *Deseret News*, 1 September 1976, Clipping Files: Moss, (Senator) Frank E., JWML; Douglas L. Parker, "Tribune's Ministerial Luncheon Features Moss, Hatch Hassle," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 13 October 1976, pp. B-1 and B-2.

¹¹ "Moss outspends opponents," *Deseret News*, 30 October 1976, pp. A-1 and A-3; "Moss is 10th on union list," *Deseret News*, 5 October 1976, Clipping Files: Moss, (Senator) Frank E., JWML.

¹² "Frank Moss Fights for Jobs for the People of Utah," Utah State AFL-CIO Advertisement for Frank E. Moss, Vertical Files: Moss, Frank E., 1975-1976, JWML.

groups.”¹³ He said Moss’s vote on the Common Situs Picketing Bill proved he was in league with “big labor bosses.”¹⁴

Although Hatch could not match Moss in overall contributions, he successfully tapped into a national network of grassroots conservative activists to gain financial support. He worked with Richard Viguerie of Virginia, the prominent direct-mail fundraiser for conservative causes, to solicit donations for his campaign. He received large donations from national conservative organizations such as the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress (CSFC) and the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC). In the 1970s, a coalition of wealthy donors and activists created these fund-raising organizations in an attempt to build a “conservative counter-establishment.” They also founded influential think tanks such as the culturally-conservative Heritage Foundation and the libertarian Cato Institute.¹⁵

The new conservative groups gained notable Western support. Colorado brewing magnate Joseph Coors helped fund CSFC, and Utah’s junior Senator Jake Garn wrote a letter in support of the group before the 1976 elections. The association’s fund-raising efforts portrayed the legislative branch as lurching dangerously to the Left, claiming that “young liberal Congressmen” elected in 1974 were replacing “older, more conservative”

¹³ “Hatch attacks Moss voting,” *Deseret News*, 2 October 1976, The Papers of Frank E. Moss (MS 146), Box 572, Folder 15 – Political – 1976 – Hatch, Orrin – Newspaper Clippings, JWML.

¹⁴ “Hatch Attacks Spending; Moss Defends Food Bill,” *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, 15 October 1976, p. A-8.

¹⁵ Roderick, 59-60; “Moss outspends opponents,” pp. A-1 and A-3; John Micklethwait and Adrian Wooldridge, *The Right Nation: Conservative Power in America* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2004), 76-83.

Democrats.¹⁶ CSFC once described even relatively moderate Democratic senators Daniel Patrick Moynihan and Henry “Scoop” Jackson as “radicals.”¹⁷

Contrary to CSFC’s portrayal of a bureaucracy-worshipping leftist Congress, in September 1976 the Senate was reorganizing in hopes of achieving a leaner, more efficient legislative process. Moss expressed enthusiasm for this project, which sought to eliminate a number of Senate committees. However, the Senators decided to dissolve the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences, the only committee that Moss chaired.¹⁸ This development damaged Moss’s argument that his power and prominence in the Senate made him an invaluable asset for Utah in Congress. A Hatch advertisement specifically pointed out that “The Senate may abolish the only committee which Moss chairs!” in order to counter the incumbent’s seniority-focused campaign message.¹⁹ Moss was not the only chairman damaged by the Senate’s dissolution of various committees in 1976. Two other incumbent Democrats whose committees were eliminated lost their November re-election campaigns.²⁰

Even as his committee chairmanship faced elimination, Moss attempted to bolster his image as an effective proponent of state interests. In late September, he joined with fellow Utah Senator Jake Garn in a filibuster that defeated proposed amendments to the Clean Air Act. Moss issued a press release that claimed the legislation would render

¹⁶ Mailing from Senator Jake Garn and the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, The Papers of Frank E. Moss (MS 146), Box 572, Folder 13 – Political – 1976 – Hatch, Orrin, JWML.

¹⁷ Sanford J. Ungar, “WASHINGTON: The ‘New Conservatives’,” *Atlantic Monthly*, February 1979, 20.

¹⁸ Frank Hewlett, “Eliminate Some, Rename Others’ Says Senate Committee on Committees,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 26 September 1976, p. 14 B; Gordon Eliot White, “Moss’ panel on space faces the ax,” *Deseret News*, 29 September 1976, Clipping Files: Moss, (Senator) Frank E., JWML.

¹⁹ “It really is time for a change,” Campaign Advertisement of Orrin Hatch, Vertical Files: Utah – Elections – 1976 – National Offices, JWML.

²⁰ The other incumbents who lost after the elimination of their committee chairmanships were Gale McGee of Wyoming and Vance Hartke of Indiana. See Gordon Eliot White, “Sen. Moss’ staff of 60 also will be job-hunting,” *Deseret News*, 4 November 1976, Clipping Files: Moss, (Senator) Frank E., JWML.

“large portions of our state...off limits to industrial development.”²¹ By taking this position, he portrayed himself as a champion of Utah’s economic well-being in the face of an encroaching government.

The Utah senators’ opposition to environmental legislation was part of a developing political pattern in the Mountain West region. In the 1970s, many rural Westerners viewed the growing environmental movement as a potential threat to their personal and economic freedoms. Political scientist Robert Benedict argued that Mountain Westerners embraced the Republican Party over the past thirty years in part because of their views on conservation and development.²² During the New Deal, the federal government helped develop the West through measures that benefited local economies, such as constructing dams for irrigation and the generation of public power. However, during the 1960s and 1970s, a new conservation movement inspired the federal government to enact regulations and restrictions upon the use of public lands. As a result, Western voters increasingly associated the Democratic Party with national environmental groups that sought to keep Western wilderness off-limits to industry, an effort that many Mountain Westerners viewed as detrimental to economic growth.²³

Resentment over restrictions on the use and development of public lands worked to Hatch’s advantage in the campaign. Despite his opposition to the Clean Air Act

²¹ “Moss Ready to Filibuster Clean Air Bill on Senate Floor,” News Release from Senator Frank E. Moss, 30 September 1976, The Papers of Frank E. Moss (MS 146), Box 577, Folder 7 – Press Releases – 94th 2nd 1976 – No. 151-161, JWML.

²² Robert C. Benedict, “Policy Change and Regional Realignment,” in Peter F. Galderisi, Michael S. Lyons, Randy T. Simmons, and John G. Francis, eds., *The Politics of Realignment: Party Change in the Mountain West* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1987), 129.

²³ Richard Lowitt, *The New Deal and the West* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1984), 81-82; R. McGreggor Cawley, *Federal Land, Western Anger: The Sagebrush Rebellion and Environmental Politics* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1993), ix, 31-34; Benedict, 138-141.

amendments, Moss had a reputation as a moderate environmentalist.²⁴ Hatch favored the transfer of “Utah lands to state control or ownership.”²⁵ He complained about “supposed ‘environmentalists’ who think any development is a ruination to society.”²⁶ He tempered these statements with more cautious language in his campaign advertising that advocated striking a proper balance between conservation and development.²⁷ Still, his rhetoric advocating state government takeover of federal lands appealed to one of Utah voters’ key grievances against “big government.”

Three years after Hatch defeated Moss, resentment over federal control of public lands boiled over into open rebellion in the Mountain West. The Nevada State Legislature passed a law in 1979 authorizing the state to seize control of federal lands. The states of Alaska, Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming subsequently passed similar measures. In the U.S. Senate, Hatch helped lead this “Sagebrush Rebellion” by drafting a bill giving states greater control over public lands. Many other senators from the Mountain West eagerly cosponsored the ultimately unsuccessful measure, demonstrating the regional popularity of an antifederal stance. Although the Sagebrush Rebellion had yet to reach its zenith at the time of the 1976 Senate election in Utah, resentment over environmental regulations on public land contributed to a political climate in which Hatch’s antigovernment rhetoric resonated with many Utah voters.²⁸

²⁴ Decker, pp. B-1 and B-6; Kent Perry, “Moss Cites Stratosphere Pollution Threat,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 16 September 1976, Clipping Files: Moss, (Senator) Frank E., JWML.

²⁵ “Hatch responds to issues questionnaire.”

²⁶ Bob Findlay, “U.S. Senate Candidate For ‘Individual Citizens’,” *Logan Herald Journal*, 12 August 1976, The Papers of Frank E. Moss (MS 146), Box 572, Folder 14 – Political – 1976 – Hatch, Orrin – Newspaper Clippings, JWML.

²⁷ “Orrin Hatch for Senate, Orrin Hatch for Utah.”

²⁸ Cawley, 1-2; William L. Graf, *Wilderness Preservation and The Sagebrush Rebellions* (Savage, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1990), 226-227.

Moss attempted to tap into the same sentiment. When he took a stand against federal environmental regulation by helping to defeat the Clean Air Act amendments, he received favorable local media coverage. His successful filibuster in the Senate and his advertising blitz at home seemed to have bolstered his campaign, for a poll released on October 6 showed that he had gained ground on Hatch, and that the race had become too close to call.²⁹

However, social issues important to LDS voters made headlines in the campaign's final weeks, which worked to Hatch's advantage. The LDS Church held its semiannual General Conference during the first week of October, just one month before the general election. Church President Spencer W. Kimball condemned abortion and pornography in a speech to the faithful. "Abortion, the taking of life, is one of the most grievous of sins," Kimball said. He stated the church's policy of opposition to abortion except in rape cases or to save the life of the mother.³⁰ Another general authority said that American society was in "the midst of a major storm" over moral issues. He advised Latter-day Saints to defend traditional values.³¹ Utah's Mormon population took this counsel seriously; two weeks later approximately 10,000 people attend an antipornography rally at the Salt Palace in downtown Salt Lake City.³²

Abortion constituted an important political issue for Utah's predominantly Mormon population. Moss said he favored overturning *Roe v. Wade* and endorsed a

²⁹ "Utah Senators' Filibuster Win In Best Interest of Nation [editorial]," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 3 October 1976, p. A-22; "Moss leads in poll," *Deseret News*, 6 October 1976, Clipping Files: Moss, (Senator) Frank E., JWML.

³⁰ The official magazine of the LDS Church published Kimball's speech: Spencer W. Kimball, "A Report and a Challenge," *Ensign*, November 1976, 4.

³¹ "Righteous Living Appeals Mark Messages to LDS Conference," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 3 October 1976, p. 1.

³² Jim Woolf, "10,000 'Rally for Decency' in Porno Protest," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 17 October 1976, p. B-1.

Right-to-Life Amendment.³³ However, he received considerable criticism for his vote against the Bartlett Amendment to ban federal funding of most abortions. During an appearance on a call-in radio show, he “had to fend off the issue three times in one hour.”³⁴

The First Presidency of the LDS Church also issued a public statement against the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) in late October. The ERA, a proposed constitutional amendment establishing gender equality under the law, once had the support of many Utahns. However, LDS Church leaders began speaking out against the ERA in 1975, which changed many opinions.³⁵ The October 1976 statement of the First Presidency warned that the amendment “would strike at the family, humankind’s basic institution” and could “stifle many God-given feminine instincts.”³⁶ The LDS Church played a major role in the ultimately successful national campaign to prevent ratification of the ERA.³⁷

Moss voted for the ERA when Congress approved the amendment in 1972, as did a few other Mormon Congressmen before the church publicly expressed its opposition.³⁸ Evidence suggests that the ERA did not play a public role in the race between Moss and Hatch; neither candidate featured the issue prominently in campaign speeches or materials. However, LDS leaders’ statement against the ERA prior to the election reinforced the church’s conservatism on social issues. This helped create a political environment in Utah that was inhospitable for liberal Democrats.

³³ “Moss sets sights on 4th term,” *Deseret News*, 23 April 1976, Clipping Files: Moss, (Senator) Frank E., JWML.

³⁴ Grace Lichtenstein, “‘Watergate, Vietnam and Howe’ Make Moss Bid in Utah a Toss Up,” *The New York Times*, 19 October 1976, The Papers of Frank E. Moss (MS 146), Box 573, Folder 15 – Political – 1976 – Moss Campaign – Newspaper Clippings, JWML.

³⁵ Ostling and Ostling, 170; Martha Sonntag Bradley, *Pedestals and Podiums: Utah Women, Religious Authority, and Equal Rights* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2005), 470.

³⁶ “LDS Posts ‘No’ on ERA Issue,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 23 October 1976, p. B-1.

³⁷ Ostling and Ostling, 171.

³⁸ Bradley, 63-64.

Hatch appealed to LDS social conservatives by making “morality” a theme of his campaign. He proclaimed his opposition to abortion, pornography, and “R rated material” on television.³⁹ In a campaign speech, he vowed to fight against what he called the “moral breakdown taking place in our country today.”⁴⁰ The Hatch campaign attempted to depict its candidate as a person of integrity by producing advertisements that portrayed him as a pious family man. “Orrin has a lovely family, a devoted wife and outstanding children. Sending Orrin to Washington would be a proud deed for all of Utah. In the name of high standards of decency let me encourage you to vote for Orrin,” proclaimed a supporter in a Hatch campaign pamphlet.⁴¹ Moss, on the other hand, seldom mentioned “moral issues” in his campaign rhetoric and advertising.

Another Democratic candidate, presidential nominee Jimmy Carter, made a straightforward appeal to Utah voters’ conservative attitudes about “family values.” On October 7, Carter made a campaign stop in Salt Lake City and gave a speech intended to appeal to the conservatism of Utah voters. He blasted the nation’s existing welfare system as “antiwork and antifamily.”⁴² He praised the LDS Church’s Family Home Evening program and met briefly with President Kimball and his counselors.⁴³ Not all Utahns were welcoming, however; some antiabortion protesters picketed outside the venue where Carter gave his speech, a signal that some Utahns would actively oppose Democratic candidates because of the national party’s support for abortion rights.

³⁹ “Candidates push bids,” *Deseret News*, 1 June 1976, Clipping Files: Utah Elections 1975-1976, Folder: Utah Elections 1976 – National Offices – Nos. 25-56, JWML.

⁴⁰ “GOP’s Two Senate Aspirants Seeking to Challenge Moss,” p. A-18.

⁴¹ “If he’s there, you’re there,” Campaign Advertisement of Orrin Hatch, Vertical Files: Utah – Elections – 1976 – National Offices, JWML.

⁴² Douglas L. Parker, “Carter Visits S.L., Lists Welfare View,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 8 October 1976, pp. A-1 and A-2.

⁴³ Dexter C. Ellis, “Carter recruits schools in jobs drive,” *Deseret News*, 8 October 1976, pp. A-1 and A-6.

Carter's visit to church leaders did not neutralize Mormon voters' concerns about the Democrats' national agenda in 1976. Hatch called Moss a supporter of the "radical principles" espoused in the national Democratic Party platform. He reminded Utahns that the platform advocated gun control, the ERA, and abortion rights.⁴⁴

The Democratic and Republican party platforms also revealed a basic difference in foreign policy philosophy in 1976; the Republicans wanted to increase defense spending, while the Democrats wanted to reduce it.⁴⁵ Fear of falling behind the Soviet Union in the arms race was an American conservative talking point throughout the Cold War, and the 1970s were no exception. Hatch echoed this hawkish rhetoric. "The U.S. is second in defense from a hardware standpoint and that must be changed now," he said.⁴⁶ The GOP candidate criticized the foreign policies of his fellow Republicans in the Ford Administration as overly conciliatory to the Soviets.⁴⁷ Moss criticized Hatch for his refusal to believe President Ford's insistence that the United States still had the strongest military in the world. Speaking to a group of Utah religious leaders, he warned that the world's two great superpowers "are building an arms race that you men of the clergy know is madness."⁴⁸

In the Senate race's final weeks, the debate often shifted from serious public policy disputes to arguments over campaign tactics. On October 25, Moss held a press

⁴⁴ Douglas L. Parker, "Moss-Hatch Contest Dominates As Utahns Cast Ballots Today," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 2 November 1976, pp. 1-2; Douglas L. Parker, "Moss-Hatch Race Pits Veteran, Newcomer in Rigorous Fight," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 17 October 1976, pp. B-1 and B-2.

⁴⁵ Richard L. Madden, "2 Party Platforms Show Sharp Contrast on Issues," *The New York Times*, 15 August 1976, The Papers of Frank E. Moss (MS 146), Box 573, Folder 14 – Political – 1976 – Moss Campaign – Information, JWML.

⁴⁶ Andrew Welch, "Hatch offers 'youth, courage'," *Daily Utah Chronicle*, 14 October 1976, Clipping Files: Utah Elections 1975-1976, Folder: Utah Elections 1976 – National Offices – Nos. 25-56, JWML.

⁴⁷ "Candidates seek attention," *Deseret News*, 31 August 1976, Clipping Files: Utah Elections 1975-1976, Folder: Utah Elections 1976 – National Offices – Nos. 25-56, JWML.

⁴⁸ Parker, "Tribune's Ministerial Luncheon Feature Moss, Hatch Hassle," pp. B-1 and B-2.

conference to refute claims made by the Hatch campaign. Hatch had welcomed the endorsement of an organization calling itself the National Alliance of Senior Citizens, a group that awarded Moss a zero percent rating on seniors' issues. "This is two months after the so-called 'Senior Citizens' outfit was exposed by columnist Jack Anderson as nothing but a front for right-wing groups," Moss complained. He called the alliance a "one person, backroom operation" with a name "chosen to resemble that of the 3.5 million-member National Council of Senior Citizens." Moss also argued that the "Budget Busters" award that the American Conservative Union (ACU) had bestowed upon him was of questionable legitimacy. Hatch had repeatedly stressed that Moss had been labeled a "budget buster" by the ACU, but Moss said that the organization gave out the awards based upon candidates' political vulnerability, not their actual voting records.⁴⁹

Moss attempted to respond to Hatch's charges by issuing a final round of advertisements attacking the credibility of the Republican challenger. He also enlisted highly respected three-term Governor Calvin Rampton as a campaign surrogate in the race's final days. However, the last-minute crossfire of negative advertising did little to damage Hatch, who received assistance from an ex-governor perhaps even more popular than Rampton in Utah.

The Moss campaign produced several advertisements that questioned Hatch's fitness to represent Utah in the United States Senate. One claimed that Hatch had misled voters about Social Security, frightening them with charges that the program was near

⁴⁹ Statement of Senator Frank E. Moss, Hotel Utah Press Conference, 25 October 1976, The Papers of Frank E. Moss (MS 146), Box 573, Folder 13 – Political – 1976 – Moss Campaign Information, JWML; Douglas L. Parker, "Sen. Moss, Foe Trade Claims Of 'Distortion'," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 27 October 1976, pp. B-1 and B-4.

bankruptcy while simultaneously promising to increase benefits.⁵⁰ Another advertisement attacked Hatch as a carpetbagger, claiming that his “ties to Utah are new and weak.” It also questioned the sources of his funding, claiming that “The Hatch campaign is paid for and run by out-of-state extremists – including the beer money of Joseph Coors.”⁵¹ The Moss campaign attempted to capitalize upon the unpopularity of brewers with Utah’s teetotaling LDS population by mentioning Hatch’s connection to Coors.

Hatch responded to charges of carpetbagging by emphasizing his LDS Church affiliation in an advertisement that discussed his background and accomplishments. It stated that “The Hatch family name has deep roots in Utah. Orrin’s great-great grandfather...was a member of the Mormon Batallion [sic].” The ad also mentioned that “Orrin has served his church as a Bishop and High Councilman for the past seven years.”⁵²

The week before the election, the Hatch campaign mailed copies of a handwritten letter signed by Elaine Hatch, the Republican challenger’s wife, to Utah voters. “I had hoped to be able to spend more time helping on his campaign but with 6 children and my church work I haven’t been able to spend as much time helping on Orrin’s campaign as I would have liked. So I decided I would write to you today,” it reads. The campaign included a small photograph of Hatch’s large family with the letter.⁵³ Mac Haddow, Hatch’s 1976 campaign manager, said the advertisement was strategically intended to

⁵⁰ “If you’re on Social Security or planning to be, This is the most important message of the campaign!” Campaign Advertisement of Frank Moss, *Salt Lake Tribune*, 31 October 1976, p. A-16.

⁵¹ “Do we know enough about Orrin Hatch to elect him our senator?” Campaign Advertisement of Frank Moss, *Salt Lake Tribune*, 26 October 1976, p. 5.

⁵² “Do you know enough about Orrin Hatch? Thousands of us do, let us tell you!!!” Campaign Advertisement of Orrin Hatch, *Salt Lake Tribune*, 1 November 1976, p. D-16.

⁵³ “Dear Friend (Mrs. Orrin Hatch),” Campaign Advertisement of Orrin Hatch, 28 October 1976, **Vertical** Files: Utah – Elections – 1976 – National Offices, JWML.

emphasize his “young family, to relate directly to the average Utah family.”⁵⁴ Hatch’s campaign materials and rhetoric successfully promoted the candidate as a devout member of the LDS Church. This neutralized concern over his Eastern background and enabled him to challenge Moss as insufficiently loyal to Mormon values on social issues.

Each campaign accused the other of unfair tactics the weekend before Election Day. The Moss campaign alleged that the Elaine Hatch mailings failed to include legally required notification that they had been paid for by the Hatch campaign. Moss’s staff also revealed that Hatch had been sued for fraud by boxer George Foreman in 1975. Hatch responded by noting that Moss also faced a pending fraud lawsuit. The Hatch campaign filed a complaint with the Fair Campaign Practices Board that disputed the accuracy of Moss’s advertisement portraying Hatch as funded by “out-of-state extremists.”⁵⁵

Five days before the election, Hatch benefited from the appearance of an out-of-state visitor whom he knew Utahns would embrace. Ronald Reagan addressed a crowd of more than 10,000 people at the Marriott Center arena in a speaking engagement at BYU on October 28. LDS apostle Ezra Taft Benson and former BYU president Ernest Wilkinson attended the speech, in which Reagan encouraged voters to favor Republicans and reject Democratic policies. “We want to check government spending; they want to spend government checks,” he quipped. That evening, Reagan headlined a fund-raising banquet for Orrin Hatch at the Salt Lake Hilton Hotel.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Mac Haddow, interview by author, 14 March 2007, telephone conversation.

⁵⁵ Douglas L. Parker, “Candidates Trade Campaign Charges,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 31 October 1976, pp. B-1 and B-7; Haddow interview.

⁵⁶ Douglas L. Parker, “Reagan Rakes Demos In Utah Appearances,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 28 October 1976, pp. B-1 and B-3.

In the interest of giving both parties a chance to present their perspectives to students, BYU invited Governor Calvin Rampton to speak on behalf of the Democratic ticket the following day. Rampton urged his audience not to view the federal government as “the enemy” and insisted that no party had “a corner on integrity and ability.” He said that casting aside Frank Moss’ seniority would be “folly.” One LDS general authority attended the speech, a BYU trustee who was not a member of the church’s highest council. Benson’s appearance with Reagan and Hatch, when combined with the absence of an endorsement of Moss by an equally prominent Mormon leader, may have implied to some voters that the LDS Church favored the Republican candidate in the Senate race. The fact that “roughly half” as many people attended Rampton’s speech at the Marriott Center as had heard Reagan’s address the previous day was an ominous sign for the Moss campaign.⁵⁷

A *Salt Lake Tribune* poll published on October 31 showed Hatch leading Moss by more than four percentage points. However, a *Deseret News* poll released the following day indicated that Moss had narrowed the gap. Frank Moss’s son Brian recalled that his father believed that he could come back and win the race. He explained, “I think that’s why election night was such a shock, because I think right up to the end we thought, well surely people can’t fall for this.”⁵⁸ Utah voters indeed “fell” for Hatch’s message of spending cuts and social conservatism. The Republican won the election by a comfortable margin of 53.7 percent to 44.8 percent.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Douglas L. Parker, “Rampton Emphasizes Government Value,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 29 October 1976, pp. B-1 and B-4.

⁵⁸ Brian Moss, interview by author, 11 February 2008, telephone conversation.

⁵⁹ Congressional Quarterly, *Congressional Elections: 1946-1996*, 98.

After Hatch's victory, one Moss aide stated that "Having Allan Howe on the ticket was the worst thing that could have happened to us."⁶⁰ A year after the 1976 election, Moss himself maintained that the Howe scandal had been the most important factor in his defeat.⁶¹ Hatch, on the other hand, characterized it as only "a 'minor aspect' of the campaign."⁶²

In the Second District Congressional race, Republican challenger Dan Marriott had easily defeated both Allan Howe and the write-in candidate endorsed by the Utah Democratic Party. Political columnist Paul Rolly, who was an editor at the *Salt Lake Tribune* in 1976, contended that Howe's presence on the Democratic ticket was a decisive factor in the 1976 Senate race. He suggested that the Howe scandal hurt Moss more than other Democrats because the incumbent senator and Howe had been close allies in Washington, sometimes cosponsoring legislation. Brian Moss maintained that some Democrats who were loyal to Howe refused to vote for the incumbent senator because he withdrew his support for the scandal-tainted congressman, which contributed to Frank Moss's failure to win the Democratic stronghold of Salt Lake County.⁶³

When Moss blamed his defeat upon the Howe sex scandal, he exaggerated its importance to the campaign's outcome. Scott Matheson, Jr., who managed the Democratic gubernatorial campaign in 1976, argued that it "hurt the ticket to a limited extent" but could only account for at most "two or three percent" of Hatch's nine-point margin of victory.⁶⁴ Matheson's analysis rings true, as many other factors beside the

⁶⁰ Andrew Welch, Curtis Webb, and John Geery, "Hatch wins," *Daily Utah Chronicle*, 3 November 1976, pp. 1-2.

⁶¹ Decker, pp. B-1 and B-6.

⁶² Douglas L. Parker, "Sen.-Elect Hatch Reports Preference For Specific Committee Assignments," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 6 November 1976, pp. B-1 and B-5.

⁶³ Paul Rolly, interview by author, 8 March 2007, Salt Lake City; Moss interview.

⁶⁴ Scott Matheson, Jr., interview by author, 15 March 2007, telephone conversation.

Howe scandal clearly contributed to Moss' defeat. Hatch ran a campaign that effectively associated the incumbent with abortion, the ERA, welfare, organized labor, and the Washington political establishment, all of which were unpopular with Utah voters in 1976.

In 1975, Utah's Congressional delegation consisted of three Democrats and one Republican. However, only one incumbent Democratic member of Congress, Representative Gunn McKay, escaped defeat in 1976. The GOP captured control of the Utah State House of Representatives that same year, and has held it ever since. Republicans took the State Senate in 1978, and by 1980 they controlled over 75 percent of the seats in the Utah State Legislature. Democrat Jimmy Carter won the national presidential race in 1976, but lost Utah by a landslide. No Democratic presidential candidate has come close to winning Utah since. The 1976 elections initiated the shift to Republican political dominance of the state.⁶⁵

Despite Republican success in the presidential, congressional, and state legislative races, Democrat Scott Matheson won the race for governor of Utah in 1976. This raises the question of why Matheson succeeded while Moss failed. Observers remembered Matheson's Republican opponent Vernon Romney as a weak campaigner who performed poorly in debates.⁶⁶ Popular Governor Calvin Rampton publicly questioned Romney's "intellectual capacity and drive," which damaged the Republican candidate's image.⁶⁷ Issues related to federal spending and changing national social norms were less

⁶⁵ Hrebenar, 104-109; Michael J. Dubin, *Party Affiliations in the State Legislatures: A Year by Year Summary, 1796-2006* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company Publishers, 2007), 184-185; William G. Shade and Ballard C. Campbell, eds., *Presidential Campaigns and Elections*, vol. 3 (Armonk, NY: Sharpe Reference, 2003), 934-935.

⁶⁶ Billings interview; Rolly interview.

⁶⁷ Douglas L. Parker, "Carter Victorious in Close Race; Matheson, Hatch, Marriott Win," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 3 November 1976, pp. A-1 and A-10.

prominent in the gubernatorial contest than they were in the senate race, which allowed Matheson to avoid some of the controversies encountered by Moss.

Hatch, a tough debater who ran an aggressive campaign, was a more formidable opponent than Romney. “An articulate, personable campaigner, Mr. Hatch brought a fervent evangelical style to the stump in a rapid fire debating skill honed by trial work,” the *Salt Lake Tribune* recounted after Hatch’s victory.⁶⁸ Moss’ former research coordinator Tim Chambless, who worked on the senator’s 1976 campaign, recalls Hatch as a “fiery, assertive, argumentative, aggressive” candidate.⁶⁹ Peter Billings, who was on the Moss campaign’s steering committee in 1976, recalled that the incumbent “wasn’t a particularly good campaigner.”⁷⁰ Pollster Dan Jones said that Hatch outperformed Moss in most of their debates.⁷¹

After losing his bid for re-election, Frank Moss hoped to be appointed to a high administrative office in the executive branch, but the Carter Administration repeatedly passed him over. After turning down a minor diplomatic post, the former senator gave up public life and practiced law in Washington, D.C. He later moved back to Salt Lake City upon his retirement, where he died in 2003.⁷²

Orrin Hatch became one of the most prominent and powerful Republicans in the Senate. Utah’s now-reliably conservative voters have re-elected him five times. The man who once thundered against the Washington establishment has served in Congress

⁶⁸ Parker, “Carter Victorious in Close Race; Matheson, Hatch, Marriott Win,” pp. A-1 and A-10.

⁶⁹ Tim Chambless, interview by author, 7 March 2008, Salt Lake City.

⁷⁰ Billings interview.

⁷¹ Jones interview.

⁷² On Moss’ dashed hopes for an executive appointment, see Frank Hewlett, “Sen. Moss Eyeing Cabinet?,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 11 November 1976, Clipping Files: Moss, (Senator) Frank E., JWML; “Moss Loses Out for NASA Post,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 21 April 1977, p. A-8; Decker, pp. B-1 and B-6. On Moss’ post-Senate career and retirement, see Robert H. Woody, “There’s No ‘Has Been’ Tag Evident on Frank Moss,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 14 June 1978, Clipping Files: Moss, (Senator) Frank E., JWML.

for three decades. In 1995, he became chair of the Senate Judiciary Committee, and he even made a longshot bid for the Republican Party's presidential nomination in 2000.⁷³

⁷³ Hatch, 203-205.

REGIONAL PARTISAN REALIGNMENT

The 1976 elections ushered in Utah's transformation from a state with robust interparty competition to one dominated by an overwhelming Republican majority. The state's partisan divisions took place along religious lines. "By the 1980s upward of 70 percent of the Mormon vote was going to the Republican party and roughly the same proportion of non-Mormons voted Democratic," historian Thomas G. Alexander observed.¹ While the Democratic Party has recently experienced a slight resurgence in some parts of the Mountain West, Utah remains dominated by a Republican Party that retains the loyal support of a large majority of the state's predominantly LDS population.

The shift to the right in 1976 was not limited to Utah, but was instead part of a broader political trend in the Mountain West.² A significant transfer in partisan control took place in the interior Western states during the 1970s and 1980s. In 1961, all but four of the Mountain West's sixteen United States senators were Democrats. By 1983, all but five were Republicans. Political scientists Eric R.A.N. Smith and Peverill Squire argued

¹ Alexander, "The Emergence of a Republican Majority in Utah," 274-276.

² This paper defines the eight Mountain West states as consisting of Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico. Despite some demographic and geographic variation, these states share key traits: arid climates, high percentages of public land, and relatively small populations. For a detailed description of the unique qualities of these states, see Neal R. Peirce, *The Mountain States of America: People, Politics, and Power in the Eight Rocky Mountain States* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1972), 15-25.

that “by the 1980s, the Mountain West had become the most Republican region in the country.”³

The elections of 1976 began this ideological realignment. That year, three incumbent Democratic senators lost to Republican challengers in the Mountain West. The victories of Orrin Hatch of Utah, Malcolm Wallop of Wyoming, and Harrison Schmitt of New Mexico ushered in a new wave of conservative Republican senators from Western states. Republicans made gains in the state legislatures of six of the eight interior western states in 1976. The region also experienced a GOP trend on the presidential level. Jimmy Carter won most Southern states and several Midwestern states, but lost every Mountain West state.⁴

Republican Malcolm Wallop’s campaign against Senator Gale McGee in Wyoming followed many of the same contours as the race between Moss and Hatch. McGee, a former political science professor at the University of Wyoming, was originally elected to the Senate in 1958, the same year that Moss won his first campaign. Like his Democratic colleague from Utah, McGee emphasized his senatorial power and seniority in his 1976 re-election bid. Wallop was a wealthy rancher who used cowboy imagery in

³ Eric R.A.N. Smith and Peverill Squire, “State and National Politics in the Mountain West,” in Galderisi, et al., 33.

⁴ For statistics on the year-by-year outcomes of U.S. Senate elections, see Congressional Quarterly, *Congressional Elections: 1946-1996*, 81-100. In state legislatures, Republicans picked up seven seats in Arizona, eight seats in Colorado, four seats in Idaho, fifteen seats in Montana, three seats in Utah, and three seats in Wyoming. They lost one seat in New Mexico and four seats in Nevada. See Michael J. Dubin, *Party Affiliations in the State Legislatures: A Year by Year Summary, 1796-2006* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company Publishers, 2007), 184-185. For presidential race results, see Shade and Campbell, *Presidential Campaigns and Elections*, vol.3, 934-935.

his advertising to appeal to the frontier self-image of Wyomingites.⁵ He criticized McGee's "identification with Big Government and the Washington Establishment."⁶

In New Mexico, a young former astronaut named Harrison Schmitt defeated aging Democratic Senator Joseph Montoya. The Schmitt campaign accused the incumbent of corruption; a group called "Democrats for Schmitt" distributed a flyer claiming that Montoya laundered past campaign contributions and had procured preferential treatment from the Internal Revenue Service.⁷ Schmitt's advertisements featured the slogan, "Honesty...for a change."⁸ Montoya hit back by accusing Schmitt of favoring the privatization of Social Security.⁹ Like Moss and McGee, he touted his seniority in advertisements. "Joe Montoya's 20 years experience and influence in Washington is really our experience and influence...don't lose it," proclaimed one such ad.¹⁰ As in the other states, this argument proved ineffective in New Mexico. Schmitt won by campaigning "as a staunch conservative, critical of national health insurance and increased Federal aid to education."¹¹

⁵ "Senate race resembles presidential contest," *Casper Star-Tribune*, 26 October 1976, p. 13; Lisa Jane Nicholas, "Culture and the Cowboy State: The Making of Westerners" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 2001), 180-192.

⁶ "Wallop Attacks McGee's Stand on Big Government," *Wyoming State Tribune* (Cheyenne), 20 July 1976, Biographical File: Wallop, Malcom, Folder 3 (B-W159-m), American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie, WY.

⁷ "Montoya: A Millionaire Pushing A 'Poor Boy' Image," Advertisement of Democrats for Schmitt, The Papers of Harrison Schmitt, Box 550, Folder 2 - Democrats for Schmitt by Cleo Montoya, re: 1976 campaign, University of New Mexico Political Archives, Albuquerque.

⁸ "A Reason to Believe: This Land of Ours," Campaign Advertisement of Harrison Schmitt, The Papers of Harrison Schmitt, Box 550, Folder 6 - Jack Schmitt, A Reason to Believe, re: 1976 campaign issues, University of New Mexico Political Archives, Albuquerque.

⁹ "Senator Joseph Montoya Says Let's Look at the Facts," Campaign Advertisement of Joseph Montoya, The Papers of Joseph Montoya, Communications: Campaign & Election, October 26-31, 1976, University of New Mexico Political Archives, Albuquerque.

¹⁰ "Does Seniority Count?" Campaign Advertisement of Joseph Montoya, The Papers of Joseph Montoya, Communications: Campaign & Election, October 11-19, 1976, University of New Mexico Political Archives, Albuquerque.

¹¹ Marjorie Hunter, "Some New Political Personages Have Emerged Around Nation," *The New York Times*, 4 November 1976; The Papers of Gale McGee (Collection #9800), Box 923, Folder: '76 Senate Campaign - Folder III, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie, WY.

Concern about federal control and government spending clearly played a role in the political shift of the Mountain West. However, denunciations of Eastern influence had been a mainstay of Western political discourse for generations, as Westerners had long resented their status as a “colony” of the federal government and Eastern corporations. These complaints had not prevented Mountain Western states from strongly favoring Franklin D. Roosevelt’s New Deal during the 1930s, or from having highly competitive Democratic parties until the late 1970s. It is difficult to understand how this longstanding resentment of the federal government could cause a sudden partisan realignment during the 1970s.¹²

Yet the ideological views of Mountain Westerners did change over time. Political scientist Arthur H. Miller found that residents of the Mountain West region had more liberal economic views than people in any other area of the United States during the 1950s. They favored “government involvement in jobs and health insurance,” despite having unusually high levels of “alienation and disdain for a strong central government.”¹³ Political scientists Theresa Marchant-Shapiro and Kelly D. Patterson showed that by the 1970s, Mountain Westerners believed more strongly than other Americans that government had “taken over roles that rightfully belong to the private sector.”¹⁴

One possible explanation for this political evolution focuses on demographic change and economic development. Over the course of the twentieth century, the

¹² In both 1936 and 1940, the states of Utah, Arizona, Nevada, and Montana gave Roosevelt his largest margins of victory outside of the solidly Democratic South. For detailed election statistics, see William G. Shade and Ballard C. Campbell, eds., *American Presidential Campaigns and Elections*, vol. 2 (Armonk, NY: Sharpe Reference, 2003), 750, 768.

¹³ Arthur H. Miller, “Public Opinion and Regional Political Realignment,” in Galderisi et al., 87-94.

¹⁴ Theresa Marchant-Shapiro and Kelly D. Patterson, “Partisan Change in the Mountain West,” *Political Behavior* 17 (December 1995): 367-370.

Mountain West became “younger, higher paid, less unionized, better educated, more professional and increasingly upper to middle class,” in part because relatively wealthy newcomers moved into the region.¹⁵ It also became more economically independent of the East. Political scientist Robert Benedict contended that this meant Mountain Westerners no longer had to seek assistance pragmatically from the federal government, which enabled them to vote for a smaller government that was more compatible with their individualistic self-images as the descendants of rugged Western pioneers. Historians have argued that Western political culture is strongly individualistic, which explains Westerners’ resistance to public safety measures such as gun control and federal speed limits.¹⁶

Historian Richard White has argued that the rise of Western conservatism had more to do with entrenched belief systems than changing demographics. He contended that Westerners adhere to an ideology of “Plain folks Americanism” that responded with hostility to the federal antipoverty programs and grassroots resistance to traditional social order that took place during the 1960s. Their image of the federal government changed from that of a protector of hard-working middle-class white Americans to one that championed “the minority poor and radical whites.” “As the West of a century earlier had featured stereotypes of bloodthirsty Indians and Mexican bandits, many modern

¹⁵ Miller, 97-100; Micklethwait and Wooldridge, 57-59.

¹⁶ Peter Wiley and Robert Gottlieb, *Empires in the Sun: The Rise of the New American West* (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 1982), 305; Benedict, 129-130; Michael E. McGerr, “Is There a Twentieth-Century West?” in *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America’s Western Past*, ed. William Cronon, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1992), 251-255; Alan Brinkley, “The Problem of American Conservatism,” *The American Historical Review* 99 (April 1994): 417-418.

white westerners added minority rioters and criminals as necessary demons to justify the existing social order,” White suggested.¹⁷

These explanations are not mutually exclusive. Indeed, it is likely that Westerners’ increased prosperity combined with their traditionally individualistic self-images to fuel middle-class resentment when the federal government changed its spending priorities to favor policies helping minorities and the underclass.

Miller has argued that social conservatism generally did not play a major role in the Republican takeover of the Mountain West. However, he based this contention solely on data showing that the Midwest and South were more opposed to abortion rights and women’s equality than the Mountain West. A more in-depth study featuring numerous questions about social attitudes toward cultural change needs to be done to establish better the role social conservatism played in the region’s partisan shift. Marchant-Shapiro and Patterson have demonstrated that moral issues, especially abortion, played a major role in LDS voters’ move to the Republican Party within the region. Many Mountain West states have significant Mormon populations, so the role of social and religious issues in regional Republican realignment deserves more study.¹⁸

The significance of the 1976 election results should not be overstated. The defeat of three incumbent Democratic senators that year was only the beginning of a partisan shift that would take years to complete. Republicans made a net gain in their share of the region’s congressional seats in 1976, but Mountain Western delegations to the House of Representatives did not become strongly Republican until the early 1980s. Voter registration in the region had shifted to the GOP by the mid-1980s. Nevertheless, the

¹⁷ Richard White, *“It’s Your Misfortune and None of My Own”: A History of the American West* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 601-604.

¹⁸ Miller, 90-93; Marchant-Shapiro and Patterson, 366.

many Mountain Western Republicans elected to Congress during the 1970s pushed American politics in a more conservative direction, setting the stage for the “Reagan Revolution” of 1980.¹⁹

Foreign policy hawkishness, small-government philosophy, and social conservatism defined the “New Right” ideology. The Mountain West brought several adherents of this ideology to power in the 1970s, but in many other parts of the country, remnants of the Democratic New Deal coalition held together. This allowed Democrats to hold on to both houses of the United States Congress throughout the 1970s, despite the increasingly conservative mood of many Americans.²⁰

In the February 1979 issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*, journalist Sanford J. Ungar analyzed the impact of a group of conservative senators “elected as Republicans in western states at a time when their party was in eclipse nationally.” He reported that these new Western conservatives, including Hatch, Wallop, Schmitt, Nevada’s Paul Laxalt, Utah’s Jake Garn, and Idaho’s James McClure, were quick to demonstrate their power. The group contributed to a successful filibuster of a Carter Administration-sponsored labor reform bill. “Their influence seems to go well beyond their numerical strength, perhaps because of their willingness to pose stark alternatives to executive-branch policies rather than play the traditional senatorial game of searching for consensus,” Ungar reported.²¹ Historian Julian E. Zelizer noted that the Republicans first elected in the 1970s, many of them Mountain Westerners, “came into Congress with a strong ideological mission, yet they were simultaneously committed to playing hardball

¹⁹ For a year-by-year listing of the partisan makeup of state delegations to the House of Representatives, see Congressional Quarterly, *Congressional Elections: 1946-1996*, 170-173. On voter registration, see Marchant-Shapiro and Patterson, 360-362.

²⁰ Congressional Quarterly, *Congressional Elections: 1946-1996*, 30-40.

²¹ Ungar, 20-23.

politics so that they were not relegated to the margins.”²² Combining uncompromising conservatism with political shrewdness, this group’s perspective eventually became predominant in the Republican Party. By the mid-1980s, the moderate-to-liberal “Rockefeller Republican” wing of the GOP had declined to a position of marginal power and importance.²³

The results of the Utah Senate race of 1976 can best be viewed as a bellwether event, with the state’s voters leading a regional shift to the right. Utah’s Republican reorientation was unusually strong because members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints came to view the Democratic Party as incompatible with their religious views on moral issues. Orrin Hatch launched his political career at a time when this process was beginning to occur, and he took advantage of it by running a campaign that deliberately appealed to LDS voters. Frank Moss was put on the defensive throughout the race, and Hatch won a seat in “the world’s most exclusive club” that he has held onto for over 31 years.

²² Julian E. Zelizer, “Seizing Power: Conservatives and Congress Since the 1970s,” in *The Transformation of American Politics: Activist Government and the Rise of Conservatism*, ed. Paul Pierson and Theda Skocpol (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 113.

²³ Christopher J. Bailey, *The Republican Party in the US Senate, 1974-1984: Party Change and Institutional Development* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1988), 63-68; Donald T. Critchlow, *The Conservative Ascendancy: How the GOP Right Made Political History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 173.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABBREVIATIONS

JWML Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City

NEWSPAPERS

Casper (Wyo.) Star-Tribune

Daily Utah Chronicle (Salt Lake City)

Deseret News (Salt Lake City)

Logan (Utah) Herald Journal

The New York Times

Ogden (Utah) Standard-Examiner

Salt Lake Tribune

Wyoming State Tribune (Cheyenne)

LETTERS

Harding, Vera, Pleasant Grove, UT, to Frank E. Moss, 18 June 1976. The Papers of Frank E. Moss (MS 146), Box 572, Folder 17 – Political – 1976 – Howe, Allan – Correspondence (June 1976). JWML.

Hersey, Lewis G., Salt Lake City, to Frank E. Moss, 2 December 1975. The Papers of Frank E. Moss (MS 146), Box 573, Folder 3 – Political – 1976 – Moss Campaign Correspondence (1975). JWML.

Jensen Family, Salt Lake City, to Frank E. Moss, 17 June 1976. The Papers of Frank E. Moss (MS 146), Box 572, Folder 17 – Political – 1976 – Howe, Allan – Correspondence (June 1976). JWML.

Moss, Frank E., to Donald L. Pisciotta, Salt Lake City, 14 September 1976. The Papers of Frank E. Moss (MS 146), Box 572, Folder 17 – Political – 1976 – Howe, Allan – Correspondence (June 1976). JWML.

Moss, Frank E., to Fran Sturdivan, Pueblo, CO, 27 June 1975. The Papers of Frank E. Moss (MS 146), Box 573, Folder 3 – Political – 1976 – Moss Campaign Correspondence (1975). JWML.

GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS

U.S. Congress. Senate. Debate and Vote on Amendment No. 336 to the Nurse Training and Health Revenue Sharing and Health Services Act of 1975. S. 66. 94th Cong., 1st sess. *Congressional Record* 121, pt. 8 (10 April 1975).

U.S. Congress. Senate. Vote on the Equal Treatment of Craft and Industrial Workers bill. H.R. 5900. 94th Cong., 1st sess. *Congressional Record* 121, pt. 29 (19 November 1975).

OTHER PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENTS AND RECORDINGS

“Does Seniority Count?” Campaign Advertisement of Joseph Montoya. The Papers of Joseph Montoya, Communications: Campaign & Election, October 11-19, 1976. University of New Mexico Political Archives, Albuquerque.

“Frank Moss Fights for Jobs for the People of Utah.” Utah State AFL-CIO Advertisement for Frank E. Moss. Vertical Files: Utah – Elections – 1976 – National Offices. JWML.

Garn, Jake, and the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress. Political mailing. The Papers of Frank E. Moss (MS 146), Box 572, Folder 13 – Political – 1976 – Hatch, Orrin. JWML.

Hatch, Elaine. “Dear Friend.” Campaign advertisement of Orrin Hatch, 28 October 1976. Vertical Files: Utah – Elections – 1976 – National Offices. JWML.

Hatch, Orrin. Testimonial to Utah Republican state delegates. The Papers of Frank E. Moss (MS 146), Frank E. Moss Tapes AO146 #83. JWML.

"If he's there, you're there." Campaign advertisement of Orrin Hatch. Vertical Files: Utah – Elections – 1976 – National Offices. JWML.

"Inflation is our worst enemy!" Campaign advertisement of Frank E. Moss. The Papers of Frank E. Moss (MS 146), Box 573, Folder 11 – Political – 1976 – Moss Campaign Ads. JWML.

"It really is time for a change." Campaign advertisement of Orrin Hatch. Vertical Files: Utah – Elections – 1976 – National Offices. JWML.

"Montoya: A Millionaire Pushing A 'Poor Boy' Image." Advertisement of Democrats for Schmitt. The Papers of Harrison Schmitt, Box 550, Folder 2 – Democrats for Schmitt by Cleo Montoya, re: 1976 campaign. University of New Mexico Political Archives, Albuquerque.

Moss, Frank E. "Moss Ready to Filibuster Clean Air Bill on Senate Floor." News release, 30 September 1976. The Papers of Frank E. Moss (MS 146), Box 577, Folder 7 – Press Releases – 94th 2nd 1976 – No. 151-161. JWML.

Moss, Frank E. Statement at Hotel Utah Press Conference, 25 October 1976. The Papers of Frank E. Moss (MS 146), Box 573, Folder 13 – Political – 1976 – Moss Campaign Information. JWML.

"Orrin Hatch for Senate, Orrin Hatch for Utah." Campaign advertisement of Orrin Hatch. Vertical Files: Utah – Elections – 1976 – National Offices. JWML.

"A Reason to Believe: This Land of Ours." Campaign Advertisement of Harrison Schmitt. The Papers of Harrison Schmitt, Box 550, Folder 6 – Jack Schmitt, A Reason to Believe, re: 1976 campaign issues. University of New Mexico Political Archives, Albuquerque.

"Senator Joseph Montoya Says Let's Look at the Facts." Campaign advertisement of Joseph Montoya. The Papers of Joseph Montoya, Communications: Campaign & Election, October 26-31, 1976. University of New Mexico Political Archives, Albuquerque.

"Senator Moss works for you!" Campaign advertisement of Frank E. Moss. Vertical Files: Utah – Elections – 1976 – National Offices. JWML.

Skousen, W. Cleon. Mailing in support of Orrin Hatch, 12 May 1976. The Papers of Frank E. Moss (MS 146), Box 572, Folder 13 – Political – 1976 – Hatch, Orrin. JWML.

"Utah Needs a New Senator." Campaign advertisement for Orrin Hatch. Vertical Files: Utah – Elections – 1976 – National Offices. JWML.

INTERVIEWS

- Billings, Peter (former legislative assistant to Senator Moss). Interview by author, 28 January 2008, Salt Lake City.
- Chambless, Tim (former research coordinator for Senator Moss). Interview by author, 7 March 2008, Salt Lake City.
- Haddow, Mac (Hatch campaign manager in 1976). Interview by author, 14 March 2007, telephone.
- Jones, Dan (political pollster). Interview by author, 21 February 2008, Salt Lake City.
- Matheson, Scott, Jr. (Scott Matheson for Governor campaign manager in 1976). Interview by author, 15 March 2007, telephone.
- Moss, Brian (Moss campaign official in 1976). Interview by author, 11 February 2008, telephone.
- Pingree, William (Hatch campaign official in 1976). Interview by author, 29 January 2008, Salt Lake City.
- Rolly, Paul (political reporter at the *Salt Lake Tribune*). Interview by author, 8 March 2007, Salt Lake City.

BOOKS AND DISSERTATIONS

- Alexander, Thomas G. *Utah: The Right Place*. Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, 2003.
- Alexander, Thomas G., and James B. Allen. *Mormons & Gentiles: A History of Salt Lake City*. Boulder, CO: Pruett Publishing Company, 1984.
- Bailey, Christopher J. *The Republican Party in the US Senate, 1974-1984: Party Change and Institutional Development*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988.
- Bradley, Martha Sonntag. *Pedestals and Podiums: Utah Women, Religious Authority, and Equal Rights*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2005.
- Cannon, Lou. *Governor Reagan: His Rise to Power*. New York: Public Affairs, 2003.
- Carlson, Renee Pyott. *The Best Man Doesn't Always Win: A Political Family Album*. Midvale, UT: Signature Books, 1984.

- Carter, Dan T. *From George Wallace to Newt Gingrich: Race in the Conservative Counterrevolution, 1963-1994*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1996.
- Cawley, R. McGregor. *Federal Land, Western Anger: The Sagebrush Rebellion and Environmental Politics*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1993.
- Congressional Quarterly. *Congressional Elections: 1946-1996*. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1998.
- Critchlow, Donald T. *The Conservative Ascendancy: How the GOP Right Made Political History*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007.
- Dubin, Michael J. *Party Affiliations in the State Legislatures: A Year by Year Summary, 1796-2006*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company Publishers, 2007.
- Dumbrell, John. *The Carter Presidency: A Re-evaluation*. Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1993.
- Edsall, Thomas Byrne, and Mary D. Edsall. *Chain Reaction: The Impact of Race, Rights, and Taxes on American Politics*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1992.
- Furniss, Norman F. *The Mormon Conflict: 1850-1859*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1960.
- Galderisi, Peter F., Michael S. Lyons, Randy T. Simmons, and John G. Francis, eds. *The Politics of Realignment: Party Change in the Mountain West*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1987.
- Goldberg, Robert A. *Barry Goldwater*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Gordon, Sarah Barringer. *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002.
- Gottlieb, Robert, and Peter Wiley. *America's Saints: The Rise of Mormon Power*. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986.
- Graf, William L. *Wilderness Preservation and The Sagebrush Rebellions*. Savage, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1990.
- Greer, Dean C., Klaus D. Gurgel, Wayne L. Wahlquist, Howard A. Christy, and Gary B. Peterson. *Atlas of Utah*. Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1981.
- Hatch, Orrin. *Square Peg: Confessions of a Citizen Senator*. New York: Basic Books, 2002.

- Kerstetter, Todd M. *God's Country, Uncle Sam's Land: Faith and Conflict in the American West*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2006.
- Larson, Gustive O. *The "Americanization" of Utah for Statehood*. San Marino, CA: The Huntington Library, 1971.
- Lowitt, Richard. *The New Deal and the West*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1984.
- Lyman, Edward Leo. *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1986.
- Mauss, Armand L. *The Angel and the Beehive: The Mormon Struggle with Assimilation*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1994.
- Micklethwait, John, and Adrian Wooldridge. *The Right Nation: Conservative Power in America*. New York: The Penguin Press, 2004.
- Moss, Frank E. *The Water Crisis*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1967.
- Nicholas, Lisa Jane. "Culture and the Cowboy State: The Making of Westerners." Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 2001.
- Ostling, Richard N., and Joan K. Ostling. *Mormon America: The Power and the Promise*. San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 1999.
- Peele, Gillian. *Revival and Reaction: The Right in Contemporary America*. Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1984.
- Peirce, Neal R. *The Mountain States of America: People, Politics, and Power in the Eight Rocky Mountain States*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1972.
- Prince, Gregory A., and Wm. Robert Wright. *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005.
- Rampton, Calvin L. *As I Recall*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989.
- Roderick, Lee. *Leading the Charge: Orrin Hatch and 20 Years of America*. Carson City, NV: Gold Leaf Press, 1994.
- Schulman, Bruce J. *The Seventies: The Great Shift in American Culture, Society, and Politics*. New York: The Free Press, 2001.
- Shade, William G., and Ballard C. Campbell. *Presidential Campaigns and Elections*, vol. 2. Armonk, NY: Sharpe Reference, 2003.

- Shade, William G., and Ballard C. Campbell. *Presidential Campaigns and Elections*, vol. 3. Armonk, NY: Sharpe Reference, 2003.
- Skousen, W. Cleon. *The Naked Communist*. Salt Lake City: The Ensign Publishing Company, 1958.
- Vetterli, Richard. *Orrin Hatch: Challenging the Washington Establishment*. Chicago: Regnery Gateway, 1982.
- White, Richard. *"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": A History of the American West*. Norman, OK, University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.
- Wiley, Peter, and Robert Gottlieb. *Empires in the Sun: The Rise of the New American West*. Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 1982.

ARTICLES

- Alexander, Thomas G. "The Emergence of a Republican Majority in Utah, 1970-1992." In *Politics in the Postwar American West*, ed. Richard Lowitt, 260-276. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995.
- Benedict, Robert C. "Policy Change and Regional Realignment." In *The Politics of Realignment: Party Change in the Mountain West*, ed. Peter F. Galderisi, Michael S. Lyons, Randy T. Simmons, and John G. Francis, 129-147. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1987.
- Bergera, Gary James. "'A Sad and Expensive Experience': Ernest L. Wilkinson's 1964 Bid for the U.S. Senate." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 61 (Fall 1993): 304-324.
- Brinkley, Alan. "The Problem of American Conservatism." *The American Historical Review* 99 (April 1994): 409-429.
- Clark, Cal, and B. Oliver Walter. "Rising Republicanism in the West: A Regional Tide or Harmonic State Waves?" *The Social Science Journal* 18 (October 1981): 1-6.
- Clayton, James L. "Contemporary Economic Development." In *Utah's History*, ed. Richard D. Poll, 531-544. Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1978.
- Coombs, F. Alan. "Twentieth-Century Western Politics." In *Historians and the American West*, ed. Michael P. Malone, 300-322. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1983.

- Edsall, Thomas Byrne. "The Changing Shape of Power: A Realignment in Public Policy." In *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order*, ed. Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle, 269-293. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989.
- Eizenstat, Stuart E. "President Carter, the Democratic Party, and the Making of Domestic Policy." In *The Presidency and Domestic Politics of Jimmy Carter*, ed. Herbert D. Rosenbaum and Alexej Ugrinsky, 3-16. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994.
- Firmage, Edwin Brown. "Eternal Principles of Government: A Theological Approach." *Ensign*, June 1976, 11.
- Frederickson, H. George, and Alden J. Stevens. "The Mormon Congressman and the Line Between Church and State." *Dialogue* 3 (Summer 1968): 121-128.
- Hrebenar, Ron. "Utah: The Most Republican State in the Union." *The Social Science Journal* 18 (October 1981): 103-114.
- Kimball, Spencer W. "A Report and a Challenge." *Ensign*, November 1976, 4.
- Jarvik, Elaine. "Orrin Hatch and Manifest Destiny." *Utah Holiday*, September 1982, 46-60.
- Jonas, Frank H. "Utah: The Different State." In *Politics in the American West*, ed. Frank H. Jonas, 326-379. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1969.
- Marchant-Shapiro, Theresa, and Kelly D. Patterson. "Partisan Change in the Mountain West." *Political Behavior* 17 (December 1995): 359-378.
- McCormick, John S. "Frank E. 'Ted' Moss." In *Utah History Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan Kent Powell, 382. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994.
- McGerr, Michael E. "Is There a Twentieth-Century West?" In *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past*, ed. William Cronon, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin, 239-256. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1992.
- Miller, Arthur H. "Public Opinion and Regional Political Realignment." In *The Politics of Realignment: Party Change in the Mountain West*, ed. Peter F. Galderisi, Michael S. Lyons, Randy T. Simmons, and John G. Francis, 79-100. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1987.
- Oaks, Dallin H. "I Have a Question." *Ensign*, June 1976, 61-62.
- Peterson, F. Ross. "Utah Politics Since 1945." In *Utah's History*, ed. Richard D. Poll, 515-530. Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1978.

Poll, Richard D., and William P. MacKinnon. "Causes of the Utah War Reconsidered." *Journal of Mormon History* 20 (Fall 1994): 16-44.

"President Kimball Condemns Wrongdoing by Government Officials." *Ensign*, July 1976, 76.

Reynolds, Noel B. "I Have a Question." *Ensign*, June 1976, 64.

Stewart, D. Michael. "I Have a Question." *Ensign*, June 1976, 64-65.

Smith, Eric R.A.N., and Peverill Squire. "State and National Politics in the Mountain West." In *The Politics of Realignment: Party Change in the Mountain West*, ed. Peter F. Galderisi, Michael S. Lyons, Randy T. Simmons, and John G. Francis, 33-54. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1987.

Smith, Thomas G. "The Canyonlands National Park Controversy, 1961-64." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 59 (Summer 1991): 216-242.

Toney, Michael B., Carol McKewen Stinner, and Stephan Kan. "Mormon and Nonmormon Migration in and out of Utah." *Review of Religious Research* 25 (December 1983): 114-126.

Ungar, Sanford J. "WASHINGTON: The 'New Conservatives'." *Atlantic Monthly*, February 1979, 20-24.

White, O. Kendall, Jr. "A Review and Commentary on the Prospects of a Mormon New Christian Right Coalition." *Review of Religious Research* 28 (December 1986): 180-188.

Zelizer, Julian E. "Seizing Power: Conservatives and Congress Since the 1970s." In *The Transformation of American Politics: Activist Government and the Rise of Conservatism*, ed. Paul Pierson and Theda Skocpol, 105-134. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007.